

ROMANTIC LOVE AND TRUE LOVE: GREEK ATTITUDES TO MARRIAGE

Why do particular people marry? Love is commonly reckoned a decisive factor.¹ However we define love it is appreciated that love is an emotional response which varies in its character as much as it varies in its intensity. Thus the love which persuades two young persons to contemplate marriage is likely to be more «romantic» than the form of love which directs those of greater maturity to the same end. Love between the young will appear even more romantic when reinforced by parental opposition — the so-called «Romeo and Juliet» effect. Today we are incorrigibly romantic, applauding with warmth the speech delivered by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium* (cf. 189c ff.). But is this the reaction which Plato intended?² It is my purpose in what follows to consider romantic love as it manifested itself in Greek New Comedy, to assess our evidence for romantic love among the Greeks before the Hellenistic era, and to establish why romantic love was not acceptable to the Greeks as «true» love. Finally, I wish to determine what in fact constituted true love in the eyes of the Greeks and to define the quality of that species of affection. Throughout attitudes basic to any understanding of Greek society will be examined.

I

Romantic love, we fondly believe, joins two individuals in a union transcending the grave, and it will surely be agreed that romantic love has little to do with crude sex and is something quite distinct from lust. It is rather a kind of emotion which can inspire deep feelings even at a first encounter as its victims steal a rapid glance at each other across a

¹ The first part of E. ROHDE's *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1900², p. 12 ff. remains extremely useful for its discussion of the love motif in Greek literature: love and the Greeks have been considered recently by R. FLACELIERE, *Love in Ancient Greece*, London 1962 and A. LESKY, *Vom Eros der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1976. Much is to be learned from L. LERNER, *Love and Marriage: Literature and its Social Context*, London 1979, while an extensive bibliography is included in B.I. MURSTEIN, *Love, Sex and Marriage through the Ages*, New York 1974, p. 569-611.

² Cf. K.J. DOVER, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 48.

crowded room. But an example will be more instructive than any amount of theorizing. It is what we may confidently describe as romantic love which makes Sostratos in Menander's *Dyskolos*, admittedly under the influence of the god Pan, fall head over heels in love with Cnemon's unnamed daughter (cf. verses 50ff., 191ff., 302ff. and 666ff.). Sostratos merely saw the girl and fell in love with her «at first sight» (εἰθύς, verse 52). «I must die or win the girl and live», exclaims Sostratos (verses 379-380), and while actual suicide may be very far distant from his youthful mind, romantic love, we also believe, can propel a man or woman towards a self-inflicted death if either circumstances or the object of love render marriage an impossibility. The purpose of marriage for a Greek was to have and to rear legitimate children (cf. *Dyskolos* 842-843), that is, children with a socially recognised identity, rather than to gratify the emotional needs of either husband or wife. Marriage was, therefore, arranged so as to unite partners of a comparable social and financial status³, and accordingly, «if it is a matter of marriage to a free-born girl», says the parasite Chaereas to Sostratos, «I'm the man to ascertain her family and financial background» (cf. verses 64-66). The fact that a marriage arranged by the parents was the norm in Greek society makes Sostratos' threat of suicide the more remarkable and, presumably, the more hilarious to Menander's audience. Certainly Sostratos displays all the symptoms of a man hopelessly in love and these are unquestionably amusing in themselves: he not only falls in love at first sight but can also convert into a virtue even his beloved's disadvantages (cf. verses 381ff.), and is totally incapable of concentrating on anything in the presence of the girl, however urgent the demand for action (cf. verses 671ff.).

³ Concise but clear accounts of Greek marriage are given by W.K. LACEY, *The Family in Classical Greece*, London 1968, p. 100 ff.; A.W. GOMME and F.H. SANDBACH, *Menander, a Commentary*, Oxford 1973, p. 28-35; and Sarah B. POMEROY, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, New York 1975, p. 57 ff.; compare also Elaine FANTHAM, *Phoenix* 29 (1975), p. 44-74. On love in Menander's comedies, see P. FLURY, *Liebe und Liebessprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz*, Heidelberg 1968, p. 13 ff. and 36 ff. The differences between the traditional or arranged marriage and «modern» marriage, and the consequences of such differences, are well set out and discussed by E. SHORTER, *The Making of the Modern Family*, London 1976; a more detailed analysis, based on Japanese and American evidence, is offered by R.O. BLOOD, Jr., *Love Match and Arranged Marriage*, New York and London 1967. The November 1980 issue of *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (Vol. 42, no. 4) was a special issue devoted to a «decade review»; it includes a survey of «Mate Selection in the 1970s» by B.I. MURSTEIN, who remarks that «in the 1970s love research began to flourish» (p. 783). Similarly the Spring 1982 issue of *The Journal of Social History* (Vol. 15, no. 3) was a special issue, and this took as its theme the history of love.

At the beginning of the fifth act of the *Dyskolos* Sostratos persuades his father to consent to the match with Cnemon's daughter and «gets the girl». But a second couple in the comedy is also joined in matrimony, the girl's stepbrother Gorgias and Sostratos' sister, and it is at the insistence of Sostratos, for his father thinks one «beggar» in the family enough (verses 791ff.). It is Gorgias himself and his pride which are the main obstacles to the marriage: Sostratos' family is much wealthier than his own and Gorgias will not live on a wife's fortune (verses 829-831 and 834). In the end Gorgias is easily won over but his initial, albeit short-lived, reluctance is typically Greek — «Spin the top suited you» was the advice of the sage Pittacus on the subject of marriage (cf. Callimachus, *Ep.* 1). The contrast between the attitudes of Sostratos and Gorgias defines the essential nature of romantic love as much as do the actions of Sostratos described above: Sostratos will marry though his bride has no dowry (verses 307-308), whereas Gorgias has no time for love, possessing too many troubles already (cf. verses 341-344), and the man who has a living to seek does not fall in love or so a fragment of Euripides' *Danae* (fr. 322 Nauck²) tells us. The contrast is striking and it is Sostratos who is exceptional by Greek standards; Gorgias, on the other hand, in being ready to marry a girl he has not even seen as yet is not so much marrying the girl as marrying into her family, having been persuaded by his affection for Sostratos, his potential brother-in-law, and by his evident respect for the father (cf. verses 773-775). The family, as so often among the Greeks, takes priority over the individual. Yet this incident must be handled delicately by the playwright, for a much stronger prejudice tends to be attached to the woman than to the man marrying below their station in life as Sostratos' sister will be. It was sexual attraction, in Greek opinion, which caused this type of social disruption, and that a male should succumb to sex is excusable⁴ but not, however, a woman, who was required to display no sexual feelings; a woman, in other words, must be monstrously over-sexed to marry someone of lesser wealth and prestige, as, for example, Strepsiades' aristocratic wife certainly was according to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (cf. verses 51-52).⁵

⁴ Of course, a double standard was applied, one to men and a very different one to women, as is made clear, for example, by Medea's words in Euripides' play (cf. verses 244-247) or the words of Clytemnestra in the same playwright's *Electra* (cf. verses 1036-1040).

⁵ The *Clouds* reveals the tribulations which result when the couple joined in an arranged marriage are ill-matched (see especially verses 41-55). Inasmuch as a man receiving a wife is receiving a favour he incurs an obligation to the «bride-givers» and the superior status of a

But what is to be made of a society whose dramatists might depict on the stage to an appreciative audience young people who fall hopelessly in love in the best romantic vein, but a society which denied the validity of love as the basis for a happily married life? Yet this seeming inconsistency, this contradiction between real life and life as portrayed on the stage or in song, is by no means rare. Think of the discreet inquiries, and often serious negotiations, which preceded the Victorian middle-class marriage and then of the sentimentality so marked a feature of much of the Victorian theatre and song. Closer to Greece, and nearer to us in time, are the Sarakatsan shepherds of north-west Greece recently studied by the social anthropologist John Campbell. Campbell reports that virtually all marriages among the Sarakatsani are arranged, yet love songs are sung: «Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say».⁶ Similar, I suspect, would have been the reaction of Athenian parents watching the comedies of Menander, though they might well have added that these «lies» were at least amusing lies and everything, after all, worked out perfectly before the play was concluded.

II

It is a commonplace that a characteristic of Hellenistic literature is the introduction of the theme of romantic love with New Comedy offering the earliest examples of the new theme. But a tantalising reference in a biography of Aristophanes which has survived claims that in his last play, the *Kokalos*, Aristophanes «introduced rape, recognition and all the other features which Menander imitated».⁷ In fact fifth-century tragedy could exploit the concept of romantic love, though our evidence is thin and by no means as clear as might be wished. The claim advanced by Aristophanes' Aeschylus in the *Frogs*, «I never portrayed on stage a woman in love» (verse 1044) is not, of course, to be taken seriously, and it is likely, if not conclusive, that in the Danaid trilogy

husband helps to cancel that obligation; Strepsiades suffers from a twofold disadvantage — the disadvantage of the «bride-taker» *vis-à-vis* the bride-givers and the disadvantage of being of a lower social status than his bride.

⁶ J. CAMPBELL, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, Oxford 1964, p. 124.

⁷ Lines 69-70 of the *Vita Aristophanis* in DINDORF's *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, London 1869⁵.

Hypermetra spared Lynceus because of love (cf. *Prometheus Vincitus* 865-868).⁸ Again, it is a distinct possibility that Hippodameia falls in love with Pelops in Sophocles' *Oenomaus* (cf. fr. 433N²). But it is Euripides that we regard as a main influence on Menander, and with a prayer addressed to Eros, «ruler over gods and men», who is requested either not to let men fall in love or else help them if they do (fr. 136 N²), we appear to have Perseus captivated by the heroine of Euripides' *Andromeda*, and in this play we can match a fragment with the trite message «to find a noble marriage is the greatest treasure» (fr. 137) with the seemingly much more romantic sentiment, «all men who succumb to *eros* whenever they chance upon noble lovers, to them there is no pleasure to which this is inferior» (fr. 138). And there are also Andromeda's words, «Take me, stranger, as servant, wife or slave» (fr. 132), whatever their precise context. At the beginning of the *Frogs*, Dionysos poses as an intellectual and speaks of reading the *Andromeda* and being struck suddenly by *pothos*⁹ (verses 52-54), a remark which leads the buffoon Heracles to ask whether it was a yearning for a woman, or boy or a man (verses 56-57). In the *Thesmophoriazusae* Euripides assumes the role of his own Perseus and the captive Mnesilochos becomes Andromeda: as «Perseus» approaches, *eros* for this girl, he says, has seized him and then, less romantically, he asks that he be allowed to release «her» and to fall into bed with her, luckily adding «bridal bed» (verses 1117ff.).

Eros may be sexual love and qualify, in Greek eyes, as a form of insanity, but in the *Andromeda* we do appear to catch the authentic whiff of romantic love, even love at first sight, and this is love without the taint of perversity to be seen in the love of Macareus for his sister Canace in Euripides' *Aeolus*.¹⁰ But I have yet to mention Greek tragedy's most celebrated pair of young people denied the opportunity

⁸ Cf. R.P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, *JHS* 81 (1961), p. 147.

⁹ As for the difference between *himeros* (see *PV*, 865), *pothos* and *eros*, see the remark passed by Pausanias when referring to three statues by Scopas of Eros, Himeros and Pothos, «if their functions are as different as their names» (I 43.6).

¹⁰ The plot of this tragedy is sketched by T.B.L. WEBSTER, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967, p. 157-160. I suspect that the same distinction between Aeschylus and Sophocles on the one hand and Euripides on the other is possible when it comes to «romance» as has been drawn between Homer and the poets of the epic cycle by J. GRIFFIN, *JHS* 97 (1977), p. 43-45. I am not convinced by the suggestion that Iphigenia falls in love with Achilles in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, on which see W.D. SMITH, in *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies presented to B.M.W. Knox* (ed. G.W. BOWERSOCK e.a.), New York 1979, p. 173-180.

to marry and driven to self-destruction, though not, I would argue, because they were not allowed to marry. I refer to Sophocles' Antigone and Haemon. Here the influence of the most famous editor of the *Antigone*, R.C. Jebb, has been decisive, and Jebb was a true Victorian in his staggering sentimentality. The facts that Antigone preferred suicide to a slow lingering death by starvation, and that Haemon turned his sword on himself after having spat in his father's face and lunged unsuccessfully at Creon (verses 1223ff.) are conveniently pushed to one side, and we tend to concentrate on the bodies lying together and the marriage consummated in Hades' hall (cf. verses 1240-1241).¹¹ It is not that I would dispute that Antigone may have loved Haemon or that Haemon may have loved Antigone, but I can see nowhere in the text of the *Antigone* clear proof of either proposition, especially the former.¹² Antigone makes no mention of her betrothed unless, in defiance of the manuscript tradition, we assign to her verse 572, «Dearest Haemon, how your father dishonours you». The note attached to the verse by Jebb is remarkable: «To me it seems certain that the verse is Antigone's, and that one of the finest touches in the play is effaced by giving it to Ismene... How little does his (Haemon's) father know the heart which was in sympathy with her own. This solitary reference to her love heightens in a wonderful degree our sense of her unselfish devotion to a sacred duty.» When delivering verse 572 Antigone, according to Jebb, is thinking of the dishonour to Haemon implied in Creon's charge (verse 571) that he has chosen an «evil» woman to be his wife, a comment which assumes that Haemon did actually choose Antigone as his bride. Such an assumption is forced upon Jebb because he believes Antigone and Haemon to be in love — just look at this scholar's translation of verse 570 and how he glosses that translation in his note on the line. Yet it is reasonable to assume that any marriage between Antigone and Haemon followed standard practice and was, therefore, an arranged match; indeed their union would have been a highly suitable dynastic

¹¹ Relevant to any assessment of Haemon's motive for suicide is the discussion of «anomic» suicide by E. DURKHEIM in *Suicide*, most conveniently available in English translation as a Routledge paperback (1970), especially p. 285-286.

¹² Those, for instance, who believe that Haemon is in love with Antigone can be forced into adopting a most peculiar position: thus see G.F. ELSE, *The Madness of Antigone*, Heidelberg 1976, p. 55 or even R.P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, *Sophocles, an Interpretation*, Cambridge 1980, p. 94. The version of the Antigone story related by Hyginus (*Fab.* 72) depicts a Haemon clearly in love with Antigone, but it remains very uncertain how Hyginus relates to Euripides' *Antigone*; but now see *P.Oxy.* 3317.

marriage for the son of Oedipus' successor as king of Thebes and an obvious one for Creon to have sponsored. To break off a betrothal is hardly creditable to either party and a loss of face on both sides is to be expected, and it was to avoid such a danger that Greek parents employed the services of a match-maker. Need verse 572, then, refer to anything more than the dishonour of a cancelled commitment to marry?

But we are not entirely dependent on fifth-century tragedy in order to demonstrate that romantic love in the sense of a profound attachment between two persons before marriage and leading to marriage was familiar to the Greeks well in advance of the final third of the fourth century B.C. But where are we to seek collaborative evidence? The arranged marriage is designed to protect the property interests of family groups, but if one has no property to safeguard, that is, if one is poor, there will be little incentive to abide by a conventional morality upheld by a propertied middle-class. Was genuine affection a factor in persuading those of a lower-class background to set up house together? Can we say of the relatively poor among the Greeks what has been said of the comparable group in nineteenth-century Britain: «Considerations of property, dowry settlements, inheritance, and breeding which lent the middle-class Victorian wedding such dramatic poignancy, were hardly relevant to the working couple»?¹³ Certainly the poor were not in a position to conform to social rules which, among other demands, required a strict segregation of the sexes. After all, Aristotle asks in the *Politics* how is it possible to prevent the women of the poor from going out of the house (1300a). If you labour in the fields together, young man and young woman side by side, a loving relationship may well develop. A Homeric simile refers to a young man and a young girl whispering together (cf. *Iliad* xxii 126-128), and on the Shield of Achilles the young of both sexes share in agricultural tasks (cf. *Iliad* xviii 567-568). To jump some eight hundred years, we have from the period of the early Empire Dio Chrysostom's charming picture of the touching affection between the young offspring of the simple hunters from Euboea (vii 67ff.), a portrait which enables Dio to indulge his propensity for moralising as he accepts an invitation to attend their wedding: «They invited me too to stay over for the wedding, and I stayed over with pleasure, thinking at the same time of what weddings and others affairs of the rich are like

¹³ F. HARRISON, *The Dark Angel, Aspects of Victorian Sexuality*, London (Fontana) 1979, p. 169.

with their match-makers, investigations into wealth and family, dowries and gifts, promises and deceptions, agreements and contracts, and finally quarrels and hostilities which frequently arise at the very wedding» (vii 80). There is also, of course, the reverse side of the coin, «rustic seduction», as we seem to have it in the new Cologne fragment of Archilochus (*P. Colon.* 7511. 1-35 = *West Arch.* 196a).

Unfortunately evidence from the fifth or early fourth century is scanty, though we do find in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (verses 952-975) a love duet sung by a young girl and a young man. You did not serenade «respectable» ladies if you were a Greek (cf. Isaeus iii 13-14), nor did you hang around beneath a woman's window, for at the end of the violent quarrel between Medea and Jason in Euripides' play, Medea dismisses her husband, telling him that he is caught (red-handed) hanging around outside the house because of his *pothos* for the young princess of Corinth (cf. verses 623-624), and her remark is intended to be vituperative. In the case of the Aristophanic duet, it has been plausibly suggested that here we are faced with a song derived from a lower stratum of society, the equivalent, it is claimed, of the music-hall song, partly sentimental, partly obscene.¹⁴ Perhaps this is no more than an early version of Sarakatsan love songs (see our p. 8) and no real evidence for love among the poor, but there is rather more information at our disposal if we turn to the other extreme, those of great wealth and power.

Just as the poor fell below the level of criticism, so too the really wealthy or powerful are likely to have stood well above the level of criticism, and were thus able to flout standard morality. Both segments of society, the poor and the rich, though for very different reasons, could afford to ignore social norms and to give rein to emotions denied the middle-class. Thus Plutarch informs us that the daughter of the tyrant Peisistratus kissed her fiancé in public view and before her mother (*Moralia* 189C), though he also tells us elsewhere that it is disgraceful for husband and wife to kiss and embrace when others are present (*Mor.* 139E). When it comes to the wealthy and marriage there is Herodotus' statement that Callias, a man of the greatest wealth, allowed his three daughters to select their own husbands (vi 122). The extent of the risk that Callias was running, in what may be regarded as the opinion of the

¹⁴ The best treatment of the duet remains the article by C.M. BOWRA, *AJPh* 79 (1958), p. 376-391. A parallel is suggested by the play-acting by a couple representing Ariadne and Dionysus, recorded as an entertainment by Xenophon, *Symposium* 9.3 ff.

average Greek, was considerable, if we allow for the emotional instability thought characteristic of women by the Greeks. The example of Helen hardly inspired confidence: according to the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Tyndareus permitted his daughter to select a husband from among her suitors and, of course, she chose Menelaus, a decision bitterly regretted by her brother-in-law Agamemnon (verses 66ff.) — women are simply too susceptible to the influence of Aphrodite (cf. verse 69). Then there is Plutarch's story of how the crippling fine imposed on her father prevented Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, from securing a husband of comparable lineage (*Cim.* 4), until another Callias, a man again of extreme wealth, fell in love with her and married Elpinice, paying off the father's debt to the state.

Another fifth-century Greek able because of his authority to defy convention was Pericles, whose relationship with the Milesian *hetaira* Aspasia is discussed by Plutarch (*Per.* 24): Aspasia became the *pallake* of Pericles, who, by mutual consent, separated from his wife after she had borne him two sons and lived with Aspasia, by whom he had a third son. Pericles, we are told, loved Aspasia and, as evidence, Plutarch quotes their habit of kissing when Pericles went out and came back home (24.6). Pericles, it is clear, was powerful enough to stomach ceaseless abuse from the comic poets, who referred to Aspasia as the new Omphale, Deianeira and Hera. Pericles' ward, the irrepressible Alcibiades, was likewise associated with a celebrated *hetaira*, Timandra, and their relationship too was surely more than just a «commercial» arrangement, for Timandra remained with Alcibiades until the bitter end, even, according to Plutarch, arranging the best funeral she could manage for the body of Alcibiades (*Alc.* 39.4).

Such instances raise the question whether love was a possible factor when an Athenian entered into a permanent liaison with a woman who qualified not as his wife but as his *pallake*.¹⁵ Or was it necessity alone, a necessity occasioned by a shortage of marriageable women among females of citizen stock¹⁶ or by an inability on the part of a father to provide a dowry, which accounts for a *pallake* being preferred to a

¹⁵ On the *pallake* see H.J. WOLFF, *Traditio* 2 (1944), p. 65 ff.; A.R.W. HARRISON, *The Law of Athens: the Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, p. 13-15; and D.M. MACDOWELL, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London 1978, p. 89-90; cf. also E.W. BUSHALA, *AJPh* 90 (1969), p. 65-72.

¹⁶ See Sarah B. POMEROY, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 68-70; cf. also p. 227-228. Cf. further M. GOLDEN on «marriage-squeeze», *Phoenix* 35 (1981), p. 321 ff.; and S. ISAGER, *C & M* 33 (1981-1982), p. 81-96.

wife? There was as well the inheritance law which meant that the family fortune was split between all the surviving sons, the daughters having already received their share in the form of a dowry. A citizen who had male heir or heirs but no longer a wife because of death or divorce might acquire a *pallake*, as Demeas, a bachelor but with an adopted son, does in Menander's *Samia* (cf. verse 130), rather than a second wife to avoid having further heirs and a further division of his estate after death. A woman of servile origin or non-Athenian birth had no alternative to becoming the *pallake* of a citizen, and so Glycera in Menander's *Perikeiromene* is Polemon's *pallake* and can become his wife only when in the course of the comedy she is identified as the daughter of a citizen. Yet at one point Polemon says he thought of her as his «wedded wife» (verse 489), and, believing himself to be deserted by Glycera, seems to talk of hanging himself, for life bereft of Glycera is not worth living (verses 976-978; cf. 504-507), a sentiment which echoes the words of Sostratos (see our p. 6). Again our evidence is thin and not free from ambiguity, but the accumulative effect of even scraps when drawn from a variety of sources is impressive in suggesting that romantic love was only too well known to the Greek long before Menander staged his first production, and we have as yet to consider one further «scrap». But first we must stand back and look at the broader picture.

III

Lawrence Stone has urged his reader to rid himself of what he terms «three modern Western culture-bound preconceptions» when considering family, sex and marriage in sixteenth-century England, and Stone's remarks are equally relevant to the student of Greece in antiquity.¹⁷ What are these preconceptions? «The first is that there is a clear dichotomy between marriage for interest, meaning money, status or power and marriage for affect, meaning love, friendship or sexual attraction; and that the first is morally reprehensible. In practice in the sixteenth century, no such distinction existed; and if it did, affect was of secondary importance to interest, while romantic love and lust were strongly condemned as ephemeral and irrational grounds for marriage.

¹⁷ L. STONE, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, London 1977, p. 86-87; see also p. 180-181.

The second modern preconception is that sexual intercourse unaccompanied by an emotional relationship is immoral, and that marriage for interest is therefore a form of prostitution. The third is that personal autonomy, the pursuit by the individual of his or her own happiness, is paramount, a claim justified by the theory that it in fact contributes to the well-being of the group. To an Elizabeth audience the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, like that of *Othello*, lay not so much in their ill-starred romance as in the way they brought destruction upon themselves by violating the norms of the society in which they lived, which in the former case meant strict filial obedience and loyalty to the traditional friendships and enmities of the lineage. An Elizabethan courtier would be familiar enough with the bewitching passion of love to feel some sympathy with the young couple, but he would see clearly enough where duty lay.» My quotation from Stone speaks for itself and its relevance to Greek society is obvious. I would just add that «duty» equals role assigned by society, and that in doing one's duty, performing the part allocated by society, immense personal satisfaction is to be achieved, and so self-interest and loyalty to the group may be reconciled.

Society imposes upon each of its members a role and in fulfilling that role an individual achieves self-fulfilment. It is a failure to accept, a failure to conform, which threatens disaster. If society requires that you marry someone sight unseen and then, living together in reasonable harmony, bring up a new generation, you do this and in doing it are happy or, at least, not unhappy. The point I wish to emphasise is well put by a social anthropologist describing relationships in a contemporary but dying Greek village in Euboea: «Initially, it is plain, when two people get engaged they see each other not as persons but as symbols. They embark upon marriage, not as a result of a deep affinity of character, nor because they see in each other any unique personal significance, but in order to form a social and symbolic unit — to set up house together and to procreate children. And the point of marriage is to create a unity in which each one may realize his or her own social personality according to its ideal role. Within this unity each one leads interdependent yet self-contained lives, each looking to the other for no more than the faithful fulfilment of that role — the whole-hearted carrying out of the social contract. Affection grows with the passing of time and the sharing of children, grief, and joy, and this affection can grow into a dynamic relationship. But still the essential nature of the relationship is that it is extroverted, engaged upon by both members for

their own ends, connected with their own achievement of a certain role and position, and maintained chiefly not through deepening awareness and knowledge of self and other, but by a focus always outwards to the material, social, economic, and religious world within which this relationship is set, and by means of which it is maintained».¹⁸

But if either partner in a marriage fails to achieve what is expected of either him or her by society in general, the marriage is scarcely likely to be happy. Even if the partner who does not conform is indifferent to society's disapproval, the other member of this union will not be satisfied. We all know from our own experience of life about the marriage where the husband, justly or unjustly, is a «failure» in the eyes of his fellows and the wife, therefore, becomes increasingly sullen and resentful. In the end she may well centre her unfulfilled ambitions on a son. Such a situation was known also to Plato, who, in the *Republic*, talks about this kind of marriage when sketching the origin of the «timocratic» man (549c ff.). The timocratic man will have a good father but a father who turns his back on public office and litigation, preferring to suffer loss and thereby avoiding bother. But the mother is resentful of her husband's passivity; she is scorned by other women and treated by her husband with the lack of interest he similarly displays towards politics, the pursuit of money and legal recompense. Because of all this, the wife becomes angry and tells the son that his father is no man and too slack, «not to mention all the other things women are inclined to repeat about such men» (549d-e). The unfortunate son is required to compensate for what the wife and society deem to be the inadequacies of his father. The pressure to conform is colossal, and few can afford to ignore it and they do so at their peril.

In spite of Stone's warning about modern preconceptions, it is very easy for us to misunderstand attitudes different from our own, as Richard and Eva Blum misunderstand in their study of Greek peasants, for the Blums, psychologists rather than social anthropologists, impose upon their Greek subjects the feelings and anxieties of contemporary Americans. Having noted that the marriages of the Greeks they studied are arranged by the parents, they go on to pass the following remarks: «Neither the arranged marriages nor the attitudes of men and women towards one another facilitate affectionate ties or easy communication between the sexes. Exceptions occur. It sometimes happens that a boy

¹⁸ Juliet DU BOULAY, *Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village*, Oxford 1974, p. 90.

and girl marry for love, and there are a few marriages in which love and respect have developed over the years. But even in these cases women are subordinate to men».¹⁹ Obviously the Blums expect those who marry to be in love and the partners in a loving marriage to rank as equals; they are bothered by what ought not to have bothered them, however much it may cause strain and tension within marriage in modern North America or Western Europe — the little husband and wife told each other, the beating and abuse of women, the harder and certainly more continuous work demanded from a woman, the deference shown men by women. Yet they also note the satisfaction felt by women in mothering both children and husband: «they feel a sense of confidence as they expand their power through maternal nurturing».²⁰ Essentially, the Blums see in a Greek marriage what was simply not there, a struggle for power. It is the modern marriage in which the status and responsibilities of the partners are either ill-defined or controversial that offers scope for such a clash, not the Greek marriage in antiquity, or, for that matter, the Victorian marriage, in both of which roles and duties were clear for all to recognise and justified by law, religion, economic necessity and even, or so it was thought, by human physiology.²¹

The misunderstanding of the Blums is not shared by another American student of the Greek peasant, for Muriel Dimen-Schein, in her discussion of women in the remote village of Kriovrisi tucked away in the Pindus mountains, has the following to say: «My own concern with women's liberation led me to observe the lives of women in Kriovrisi

¹⁹ R. and Eva BLUM, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece, a Study of Three Communities*, Stanford 1965, p. 48. In fairness to the Blums it should be noted that E. SHORTER, *The Making of the Modern Family*, London 1976, p. 54 ff. also presents a depressing assessment of the potential for happiness in the arranged marriage: «whereas the modern couple would brim over with expressive behaviour, handholding, and eye-gazing as they embarked upon the interior search, the traditional husband and wife were severely limited: 'I'll fulfill my roles, you fulfill yours, we'll both live up to the expectations the community sets, and voilà, our lives will unfold without disorder.' It would never have occurred to them to ask if they were happy» (p. 55). Yet Shorter admits to the use of very restricted evidence, evidence in fact relating to the landholding peasantry of France during the period 1750-1850, and even this he uses somewhat selectively.

²⁰ On «women's self-selected role of care-giving», see J. VAN BAAL, *Reciprocity and the Position of Women*, Assen and Amsterdam 1975, p. 97 ff.

²¹ It is instructive to note the similarities between the views of Aristotle (e.g. *Politics* 1254b, 1259b ff. and 1277b) and Ch. DARWIN, *The Descent of Man* II, London 1871, e.g. p. 316 and 326-327 on the «natural» superiority of the male.

and to compare them with our own. In my opinion, the conditions underlying women's lives in villages like Kriovrisi and in cities like New York lead ultimately to feelings of discontent among women. Yet I know that Kriovrisi women are content with their lives, and I recognize the validity and appropriateness of their feelings. Current thought tempts one to say that the position of Kriovrisi women results from male oppression. However, although male chauvinism indeed exists in the daily life of Kriovrisi (and of New York City), it is nowhere the cause of female oppression. Seen from afar, the activities and prestige of each sex forms part of a total system». ²² Generalisations are always dangerous and never more so than when their subject is emotions rather than facts, and certainly contentment need not depend upon an extravagant happiness. There are many women who remain unaware of the imposition of chains from which others are anxious they should escape. One of the more shadowy figures known to us from the fourth century B.C. is Aeschines of the Athenian deme Sphettus, a devoted disciple of Socrates and the author of Socratic dialogues, including one named after Pericles' mistress, the *Aspasia*, in which it seems that examples were deployed to show that at least some women possessed the courage and intelligence of men. ²³ Thinkers might have propounded the view that women had the same capacity to act and to plan as men, but intellectual movements are often very restricted in their impact, and for Aristotle in the *Politics* the male is «naturally» superior to the female, the former ruling and the latter being ruled; man and woman are different as befits their differing roles in life and their qualities or virtues are correspondingly different — man's virtues are those of the ruler and woman's those of the subordinate (cf. 1254b, 1259bff. and 1277b).

IV

At the conclusion of our penultimate section I mentioned a further scrap of evidence for romantic love (see our p. 14), and this is a story which, like the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet, illustrates how the violation of the

²² See J.P. STRADLEY and W. McCURDY (edd.), *Conformity and Conflict, Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, Boston and Toronto 1977³, p. 245.

²³ See A.E. TAYLOR, *Philosophical Studies*, London 1934, p. 20-21; cf. Barbara EHLERS, *Eine vorplatonische Deutung des sokratischen Eros*, Munich 1966, p. 35 ff.

norms of society brings about destruction and ruin. Our source is the *Persika* of Ctesias of Cnidos, in which the story of Zarina, queen of the Sacae, and the Median Stryangaios appears to have been treated at length.²⁴ It is a tale of love and suicide, though the details are uncertain. It does seem, however, that Zarina and Stryangaios were on the opposing sides in a war, and that Stryangaios saved the life of Zarina. The Mede proceeded to fall violently in love with the queen and that love was returned. But their love could not be fulfilled and so Stryangaios committed suicide but not before he had sent Zarina a letter wherein he stated that he had saved her but she had destroyed him. A close parallel both in date and in content is provided by the story of Abradates and Panthea in Xenophon's *Cyropedia*, but this second story with an eastern background is a story of love between a husband and wife, a story of marital fidelity, and such a story, although it may feature a woman, reputedly the most beautiful in Asia, driven to suicide after the death of her partner in life, does not qualify as a story of romantic love, for romantic love is thought to precede actual marriage and, after marriage, to develop into another type of emotional bond, and one perhaps best categorised as «conjugal» love. Such love between husband and wife can lead to disaster inasmuch as a wife may choose to follow her husband to the grave, but this is a disaster which is not disruptive of society, for it strengthens a commitment to the institution of marriage and so can be readily accepted as the «true» form of love.

The story of the royal couple Abradates and Panthea is scattered through the *Cyropedia*, giving it something of the quality of the Victorian serial, and at every point Panthea displays her fidelity and devotion to her husband. Thus Panthea, captured by the forces of Cyrus, resists the advances of Cyrus' companion Araspes (cf. iv 6.11 and v 1.2-3), and it is in spite of Panthea's immaculately wifely behaviour (cf. v 1.6-7) as well as in spite of his belief that love is «voluntary» (cf. v 1.10ff.) that Araspes becomes enthralled by the captive queen. It is Panthea who supplies appropriate encouragement to Abradates when the husband deserts the king of Assyria who had once attempted to part husband and wife, joins Cyrus and shows himself to be the bravest and

²⁴ The most convenient text of Ctesias is provided by J. GILMORE, *The Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, London 1888, p. 107-111, to which is to be added *P.Oxy.* 2330, discussed most recently by G. GIANGRANDE, *QUCC* 23 (1976), p. 31-46. A text is also available in F. JACOBY, *FGrH* 688 F 7-8 and F.W. KÖNIG, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos*, Graz 1972.

most faithful of commanders in battle (cf. vi 1.45ff.). The parting of the couple before the final battle is described at length by Xenophon: Abradates was splendidly attired and this equipment was made by Panthea, who willingly sacrificed her own ornaments in the knowledge that her husband was her brightest jewel (vi 4.3); dismissing the attendants, Panthea spoke to Abradates and expressed a wish, swearing by their mutual *philia*²⁵, to die with him if he be brave rather than that they should live both disgraced (vi 4.6); as the husband drove off in his chariot, Panthea, unable now to embrace Abradates, kisses the chariot (vi 4.10).

In the ensuing battle Abradates performed feats of prodigious bravery before he was cut down by the Egyptian foe (vii 1.29-32). After the battle Cyrus galloped to the place where Panthea sat resting Abradates' head on her lap as she prepared her husband's funeral (vii 3.2-6). Cyrus seized hold of his dead ally's hand but this, having been severed from the body in the fighting, came away as Cyrus took it (vii 3.8), a grotesque touch, though Panthea had enough presence of mind to kiss the hand and fit it back on the body «as well as she could»! Before Cyrus, having ordered an appropriately lavish funeral, left the sad scene, he offered to have Panthea conveyed wherever she wished to go, and the woman in heavy irony told him that she would not conceal from him to whom she desired to go (vii 3.13). It is not difficult to guess the end of the tale: having instructed her nurse to wrap both bodies in the one garment Panthea stabbed herself and, laying her head on her husband's chest, died (vii 3.14).

At an earlier stage in the story Cyrus delivered a discourse on *eros* to Araspes, full of shame and fear at being discovered to be infatuated with Panthea (vi 1.36ff.). In fact it could all work out very well, according to Cyrus, since Araspes could now pretend to go over to the enemy and act as Cyrus' spy. But was Araspes able to leave the beautiful Panthea? An answer in the affirmative came from Araspes, for he had now learned from that wicked sophist Eros that he had two souls, one good and one bad, since a single soul could not be good and bad at the same time; when the good soul prevails noble deeds are done, and when the bad soul prevails disgraceful deeds are attempted. The idea that a person had two «souls», one good and one bad, is not likely to be thought in any

²⁵ For *philia* see Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* VIII 7.1. ff. A contemporary assessment of the various forms of love, including *philia* and *eros*, is offered by C.S. LEWIS, *The Four Loves*, London 1960.

way profound, but it was common in the nineteenth century and a perfect example of the idea is to be seen in Stevenson's novel *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. But there was more than philosophical theory to attract the Victorians to Xenophon's story. A nineteenth-century principal of Edinburgh University, writing on Xenophon, reminded his readers of a question put by Plutarch, Who would find greater pleasure in sleeping with the fairest of women than in sitting up with Xenophon's story about Panthea? (*Moralia* 1093C), though Sir Alexander Grant's translation of Plutarch's question was more florid, «Whether the actual enjoyments of love could be superior to the imaginative pleasures felt in reading the tale of Panthea as related by Xenophon?»²⁶ The story, according to Grant, was that much better because it presented a concept of love which represented «post-nuptial» as opposed to «ante-nuptial» passion. The appeal of the story of Abradates and Panthea to the Greeks is revealed by the closely parallel story of Evadne in Euripides' *Suppliant Women* (cf. verses 980ff.) or of Laomadeia in the *Protesilaus* (cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 103-104 and Eur. fr. 647-657 N²). In the *Alcestis* of Euripides a wife dies in her husband's place (but cf. Plato, *Symposium* 179b-c and 208c-d), while deep love between husband and wife is also illustrated by the Orpheus and Eurydice myth, the subject of relief sculpture dating from the late fifth century.²⁷

For both Victorians and for Greeks true love in the form of love between husband and wife demanded from the wife an even greater sacrifice than the loss of life; it also required, in theory if not in actual fact, a complete surrender of a woman's personality. Our most informative single source of evidence relating to married life in classical Athens is the *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon's equivalent of the Victorian handbook for young girls on the point of marriage. A student today will throw up his or her hands in horror at the picture of married life which Xenophon portrays, but Gilbert Murray writing towards the end of Victoria's reign, claimed that the text «makes a certain special appeal to modern sympathies. The wife is charming... and the little dialogue, taken together with the corresponding parts of the *Memorabilia* and *Cyropae-deia*, forms almost the only instance in this period of Attic thought of

²⁶ Sir A. GRANT, *Xenophon*, Edinburgh and London 1871, p. 141-142.

²⁷ Note in addition the comments of M. ROBERTSON, *A History of Greek Art*, I, Cambridge 1975, p. 374-375 on the other reliefs in this group, especially the relief depicting Heracles and two of the daughters of Hesperus.

the modern 'bourgeois' ideal of good ordinary women and commonplace happy marriages». ²⁸ Almost a century later such a verdict on the marriage of Ischomachus seems a travesty. Yet Euripides shows that the *Oeconomicus* does not reproduce attitudes unique to Xenophon, for in his *Andromache* Andromache speaks of being prepared to proffer her breast to Hector's bastards (verses 222ff.), while in the *Trojan Women* Andromache tells how she tried to secure a good reputation as Hector's wife, mentioning how she remained within the house and kept a tight rein on tongue and thoughts, paying her husband «the tribute of hushed lips and eyes quietly downcast» (verse 643-655), a picture of total subordination greatly modified, however, by a final pair of lines which add, «I knew when my will must have its way over his, knew also how to give way to him in turn» (verses 655-656). But positively depressing is a fragment of the dramatist quoted by Clement of Alexandria when describing the good wife (fr. 909 N²): beauty helps no woman with her wedded husband but virtue many, for every good wife who is as one with her husband knows how to be modest. First there is this: even if her husband is of ill-form, he should seem well-formed to the woman of good sense, since it is not the eye's to judge but the mind's. When he says anything, she should think he speaks well even if he does not, and toil at whatever will be to her husband's pleasure. Sweet is it that a wife looks sadly with her husband if he suffers anything and shares in common his distress and joy. When you are sick I will endure to be sick with you and bear your disasters with you, and nothing will be bitter to me. An anecdote from Plutarch's *Moralia* provides an illustration of such extreme deference to a husband on the part of a wife: it relates how Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, was abused because of his vile smell and complained to his wife that she had never mentioned this to him; but she, «being modest» replied, «I thought all men smelled like this» (*Mor.* 90B and 175B)!

But there is in Euripides one married couple so fond of each other that the wife Helen, when all seems lost, undertakes to die at her husband's side and by the same sword — indeed Helen and Menelaus swear not to survive each other (*Helen* 836-840; cf. also 982-990) — but in this play Helen is no cypher but the clever schemer, devising, for example, the means of escape from Egypt when Menelaus can find no solution to their problem (cf. verses 1032ff.). That Helen is the type of

²⁸ G. MURRAY, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature*, London 1898, p. 321.

person who will not allow her heart to rule her head is suggested by her reply when Theoclymenus registers a fear that Helen might wish to emulate the deed of Evadne by throwing herself into the sea when the mock burial of Menelaus is performed (verses 1395-1398); her reply may be just a way to trick Theoclymenus, but when she says one must honour a first marriage and she would die with Menelaus because of her affection for her husband but to die with Menelaus is not going to be a pleasure to Menelaus (cf. verses 1399-1403), this must be a reply that Theoclymenus can accept as consistent with his assessment of Helen's character.

The relationship between Euripides' Helen and Menelaus is not unlike that between Homer's Odysseus and Penelope with, however, the ironic difference that here it is Helen who takes the initiative in scheming. Both couples appear to have experienced too much to have preserved any romantic illusions and these experiences are not dissimilar. Despite all appearances to the contrary, Helen has remained faithful to her husband throughout their long separation. Details confirm the parallel: Menelaus reaches Egypt and meets his wife once more after a shipwreck (verses 408ff.), and later Helen continues to play the part of Nausicaa as well as that of Penelope when she supplies Menelaus with new clothes and bathes him (cf. verses 1382-1384); Helen refers to tokens which will lead to mutual recognition but known to husband and wife alone, a motif, however, not developed subsequently in the play (cf. verses 290-291).

Helen and Menelaus and Odysseus and Penelope share a mature affection developed over the course of many years and intensified by a long separation, but romantic love is alien to their relationship. In the *Odyssey* the hero of the epic offers his own recipe for a happy marriage when he tells the young Nausicaa that nothing is better than a husband and wife who think alike (*Od.* vi 182-184).²⁹ Such a recipe sounds splendid and it is splendid provided it allows both partners in a marriage to contribute to an agreed pattern of behaviour; it is much less impressive, however, when it simply means that a wife must think exactly what her husband thinks, reflecting only her partner's opinions and sentiments and dismissing any thoughts of her own. Obviously the personalities of husband and wife will be crucial in determining their relationship, and both Helen and Penelope were endowed, it would seem, with a mind of their own. Neither wife in this pair of marriages was so besotted by her

²⁹ Cf. J. REDFIELD, *Arethusa* 15 (1982), p. 196-198.

partner that she surrendered all initiative to take action. Their attitude towards their husbands was grounded in a realistic appraisal of both the husband and the circumstance in which they found themselves. A sharper contrast with the emotions and actions of Menander's Sostratos (see our p. 6-7) could scarcely be imagined, and this contrast is a measure of the difference between romantic love and true love as both forms of love were conceived by the Greeks.

V

Odysseus' recipe is quoted with warm approval by Plutarch in his *Dialogue on Love* (*Mor.* 770A). But if one looks elsewhere in the *Moralia*, at Plutarch's *Precepts for Bride and Groom*, we are immediately reminded of the Euripidean fragment cited in the previous section (see our p. 22), for this is the advice Plutarch has to offer: «Whenever the moon is at a distance from the sun we see her conspicuous and brilliant, but she disappears and hides herself when she comes near him. Contrariwise a virtuous woman ought to be most visible in her husband's company, and to stay in the house and hide herself when he is away.... Whenever two notes are sounded in accord the tune is carried by the bass; and in like manner every activity in a virtuous household is carried on by both parties in agreement, but discloses the husband's leadership and preferences.... Just as a mirror, although embellished with gold and precious stones, is good for nothing unless it shows a true likeness, so there is no advantage in a rich wife, unless she makes her life true to her husband's and her character in accord with his.... A wife is worthless and lacking in sense of fitness who puts on a gloomy face when her husband is bent on being sportive and gay, and again, when he is serious, is sportive and mirthful.... The wife ought to have no feeling of her own, but she should join with her husband in seriousness and sportiveness and in soberness and laughter» (139C-140A, translated by Frank Cole Babbitt). But there is, of course, no contradiction between Plutarch's approval of Odysseus' recipe and my quotation from *Precepts for Bride and Groom*, for Plutarch is very much in favour of husband and wife thinking alike and feeling alike since he would allow the wife no independence of mind or heart whatsoever: a wife must reproduce the beliefs and moods of her spouse.

Yet Plutarch also claims that affection causes affection (143C), and

partnership is heavily stressed as an essential feature of marriage, *koinonia* being a key term: «It is a lovely thing for the wife to sympathize with her husband's concerns and the husband with the wife's, so that, as ropes, by being intertwined, get strength from each other, thus, by the due contribution of goodwill in corresponding measure by each member, the copartnership (*koinonia*) may be preserved through the joint action of both» (140E). Even sentiments which appear to reek of the worst of male chauvinism are tempered as the idea of partnership is re-introduced: «A woman ought to do her talking either to her husband or through her husband.... If women subordinate themselves to their husbands, they are commended, but if they want to have control, they cut a sorer figure than the subjects of their control. And control ought to be exercised by the man over the woman, not as the owner has control of a piece of property, but, as the soul controls the body, by entering into her feelings and being knit to her through goodwill.... Philosophers say of bodies that some are composed of separate elements, as a fleet or an army, others of elements joined together, as a house or a ship, and still others form together an intimate union, as is the case with every living creature. In about the same way, the marriage of a couple in love with each other is an intimate union; that of those who marry for dowry or children is of persons joined together; and that of those who merely sleep in the same bed is of separate persons who may be regarded as cohabiting but not really living together. As the mixing of liquids, according to what men of science say, extends through their entire content, so also in the case of married people there ought to be a mutual amalgamation of their bodies, property, friends, and relations» (142D-143A).

One statement made in the first half of the fourth century B.C. employs both the terms *koinonia* and *homonoia*, and clearly reveals that Aristotle's classification of husband as «ruler» and wife as «ruled» applied to the type of partnership represented by marriage. The statement is made in a speech by Isocrates in which Nicocles, the Greek king of Cypriote Salamis, is imagined to be instructing his subjects as to their duties towards their monarch. Mutual obligations exist between king and subject, and the king must be much better than the private individual: «I had no patience with the perversity of men who take women in marriage and make them partners in all the relations of life (*κοινωνίαν παντός τοῦ βίου*), and then are not satisfied with the compacts which they have made but by their own lawless pleasures bring

pain to those whom they expect never to cause *them* pain; and who, though honest in all other partnerships, are without conscience in the partnership of marriage, when they ought to cherish this relationship the more faithfully inasmuch as it is more intimate and more precious than all others. More than that, they are unconsciously storing up for themselves feuds and factions at home in the royal palace. And yet, if kings are to rule well, they must try to preserve harmony (ὁμονοία), not only in the states over which they hold dominion, but also in their own households and in their places of abode; for all these things are the works of temperance and justice» (3.40-41, translated by George Norlin). Nicocles was an «enlightened» monarch, and as such acknowledged his obligations both as king and as husband, but the partnership or *koinonia* between husband and wife he envisaged is of the same order as the certainly unequal partnership between king and subject, the analogy being a simple one between king, subject and state and husband, wife and marriage. *Homonoia* brings with it distinct practical advantages when it is exemplified at the level of the state and at the level of the family; indeed Xenophon's Socrates in the *Memorabilia* claims that without *homonoia* neither would the city be well governed nor the household prosperously managed (iv 4.16; cf. also Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 38.8ff.). Practical advantages, however, by themselves are scarcely conducive to an «intimate union».

VI

How successful was the partnership of marriage as it was conceived by the Greeks? In Menander's *Epitrepontes* the girl Pamphila is made pregnant at a festival by Charisios; subsequently the two are married without realising that they have already met. When a child is born it is exposed by Pamphila but Charisios discovers the birth. He does not divorce his wife but neither will he live with her, turning instead to a life of pleasure in which, however, he appears to find little pleasure (cf. verses 430-435). Pamphila's father wants a divorce so that he may recover whatever of the dowry has yet to be squandered, but Pamphila does not agree (cf. verses 714ff.). The motives for the loyalty to marriage exhibited by both husband and wife are not entirely clear, though Charisios' failure to enjoy what should be a life of drinking and wenching sounds significant, and Pamphila has told her father that she

came to be a partner (*koinonos*) in Charisios' life and ought not to flee misfortune when it occurred (verses 919-922). Naturally, in the end all turns out well and the couple is reunited, and Charisios is delighted to be the father of a child born to his wife and himself (cf. verses 957-958). All in all, it is difficult not to see in the *Epitrepontes* a play by Menander in which affection between two young persons has developed after an arranged marriage to an extent which permits the marriage to survive severe shock.

Confirmation of this interpretation is offered by a papyrus text preserving part of a speech by a young man which seems very likely to be the work of Menander. Even such a scrap strongly suggests that here we have a comedy with a plot reminiscent of that of the *Epitrepontes* (*Pap. Antinoopolis* 15 = Sandbach p. 327). Its young man is in dire distress: he is now in the fifth month of a marriage made «in obedience to his father» (verse 3); he has not left his wife for one night from the night of the wedding; he loved her, he says, «for encaptured by her free-spirited and frank character and life I grew fond of her» and she showed him affection (verses 10-12). In other words, this was an arranged marriage and, given a few months, a mutual, and apparently quite strong, affection between husband and wife had transpired. More controversial but still likely to be from a play by Menander is another papyrus text preserving a substantial speech from a wife who refuses her father's demand that she leave her husband (*Pap. Didot* I = Sandbach p. 328-330 = Eur. fr. 953 N²). This wife's position is not the same as that of Pamphila, since her husband has done her no injury but lost his fortune (verses 19 and 24ff.). Yet the arguments advanced by the wife might well have been put in part by Pamphila, and one of them indeed is just an expanded form of Pamphila's proposition that she came to be partner in Charisios' life «for better or for worse» come what may: «How is it just or honourable that I should have a share in whatever good things he had but not have a share in his poverty?» (verses 24-26). This was another arranged marriage (cf. verses 34-35), but it does not stop the woman quoting «an established law» for man and wife, that the husband should love his wife for ever, to the end, and that the wife should do whatever pleases her husband (verses 14-16). Her husband had been to her all she asked and all which pleased him also pleased her; there was no sum of money large enough whose possession would please her more than her husband. The father will have to use force if he is to have his way; his daughter will try to endure her fortune as she ought, «without disgrace» (cf. verses 42-44).

Only «the fly on the wall» knows what really goes on in many marriages. It is very rarely that we can share the knowledge of the ancient fly, as perhaps we do when in his biography of Pelopidas Plutarch tells us why a vital message was not delivered at the time of a conspiracy in fourth-century Thebes. The man entrusted with this message wanted the bridle for his horse but his wife could not find it. In her desperation she seized upon the excuse that it had been lent to a neighbour. A violent quarrel between husband and wife was the result, and the wife cursed her spouse and the man responsible for the emergency; the quarrel dragged on for a great deal of the day and eventually the husband abandoned the enterprise (*Pel.* 8.4-5). Nerves were obviously frayed on both sides in this not untypical «domestic» situation even today.

Glimpses of the intimate side of married life in fifth- and fourth-century Greece are rare and mainly restricted to reports of the anguish of women whose husbands are awaiting punishment in prison. Best known is the scene in prison as Socrates waits the moment of death:

We went in then and found Socrates just released from his chains and Xanthippe — you know her — sitting beside him with their little child in her arms. When Xanthippe saw us she shrieked out and said the kind of things women are apt to say: «Socrates, now for the last time you and your friends will converse together.» And Socrates looked at Crito and said, «Crito, get someone to take her home».

(*Phaedo* 60a)

So Xanthippe departs and Socrates enjoys a last conversation with his male friends. Later, just before Socrates drinks the hemlock, his children and the women of the family come to the prison; Socrates talked to them in the presence of Crito and gave them some instructions. Then he dismissed them and rejoined his friends, but not before, however, Socrates had spent some considerable time inside with Crito and his relatives (116b).

Later sources embroidered the tradition that Xanthippe was a shrew and for the obvious reason — the irony of a philosopher whose domestic life was turbulent. At the same time Xanthippe would seem to have been an awkward woman, for it is claimed in Xenophon's *Symposium* that Xanthippe is the most difficult of women, past, present and future (2.10). Socrates' son Lamprocles appears not always to have got on with his mother, or so Xenophon suggests in the *Memorabilia* (cf. II 2.1 and 7 ff.) and again her temper is stressed. Knowing Socrates' mode

of life and remembering Xanthippe's «high-class» name (cf. Arist., *Clouds* 64), we may guess that here we possibly have an example of an actual husband and wife destined to give birth to a son of a «timocratic» character (see our p. 16). Yet Socrates treats his wife with due consideration in the *Phaedo*, and if he preferred the company of male friends when it came to the last opportunity for serious, philosophical debate, his was a typically Greek preference.

But if men converse with men, women also converse with women so that, for instance, the mother of the potentially timocratic son is scorned by other women, presumably because it was with women, rather than with men and women indiscriminately, that she engaged in conversation. It is this segregation of the sexes, each living a separate life and enjoying separate pleasures, which is most disturbing for many. Yet segregation of the sexes might well have been one of the strengths of the Greek marriage. Take the case of the lives of men and women, their «sex role», in the contemporary Turkish town of Edremit, a prosperous centre on the west coastline of Asia Minor.³⁰ As in ancient Greece the world of most women here «is the private world of the house and courtyard», yet it is concluded «that the women of this secluded world are in many respects more independent than the 'emancipated' women» of Europe and North America. Certainly men and women live remarkably separate lives, but each type of life is also remarkably fulfilling. «The women's world has a complex social structure of its own.... Women organize, conduct and participate in a wide range of work activities, sociability and ceremonies at a distance from the world of men. To it they bring their own leaders, skilled specialists and loyal followers. The separate structure allows freedom of action for women, away from men. What is marriage when there is so much separation? The husband is very, very often chosen for a woman by her family. She has various ways of affecting the choice and it is unheard of in Edremit for a girl to be forced to marry against her explicit wishes. Basically, however, it is the responsibility of other members of the family to find a husband for her, and since she does not take full responsibility for the choice, she feels

³⁰ As reported by L.A. and Margaret C. FALLERS, in J.G. PERISTANY (ed.), *Mediterranean Family Structures*, Cambridge 1976, p. 243 ff. Note that in the introduction to these collected papers Peristany, referring to the description by Professor and Mrs. Fallers of the Edremit family remarks, «this could have been the description of a Victorian household» (p. 14). Further evidence from Turkey of a general as well as of a specific relevance is offered by G.L. Fox, *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37 (1975), p. 180-193.

less than full responsibility for the outcome. Often she hardly knows her husband before the marriage. She has a sense of fate about it — and resignation. What are the expectations which Edremit women have of husbands? They want them to be good providers, kind fathers, cheerful members of the household, respected citizens of the town. They do not expect men to be a major source of companionship, comfort or help in the daily work of the house. They appreciate 'worthwhile' men, but are actually slightly contemptuous of all men and feel that they are a burden to be borne. They expect men to be self-indulgent in their free time. But marriage is more than gaining a husband. It means being required to work and play, from marriage on, with a certain group of women. There is no doubt that a woman contemplating marriage takes great care to evaluate the women she is becoming involved with». In fact, it is then remarked of the marriage ceremony, «the whole rite can be thought of as a ceremony of women joining other women». It is the break-away from the extended family and the emergence of the nuclear family which forebode change. This may lead to increased emphasis on personal choice of marriage partner, but «it probably also implies increased dependence of women on men, because in a nuclear family the dominance of men is less easy for women to escape». And what happens to a married couple as time passes and middle age is reached? «His wife and he may get on well and become quite affectionate, though never demonstratively so until one of them dies. (It is almost as indecent for a married couple to embrace in public — for example, at parting or reunion — as for an unmarried couple to do so.) Or they may quarrel and separate, a matter of little more than inconvenience and mild regret». ³¹

Time and time again, as one reads through this account of life in Edremit, parallels with classical Greece are obvious. Even many younger, and more modern, men prefer to do most of the shopping for food themselves; women are reckoned to be ten times as passionate as men. But can we also say of Greek women the following?

In Edremit women have an institutional structure and sense of solidarity of their own, parallel to those of men, which give them a substantial field for self-assertion and a psychological independence of men. ³²

³¹ L.A. and Margaret C. FALLERS, *loc.cit.* (n. 30), p. 246, 253, 254, 255 and 259.

³² L.A. and Margaret C. FALLERS, *loc.cit.* (n. 30), p. 260.

I believe we can but in saying this I appreciate I rely more on general impression than on solid evidence. The most obvious example of «institutional structure» is provided by the exclusively feminine religious festival like the Thesmophoria, an elaborate celebration organized annually at Athens by women for women alone. What is made very clear by Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* is the feeling of group solidarity engendered among women by such a festival. Groups vary in size and in social cohesion: at the one extreme we have the family group whose two most important members, husband and wife, have a common interest, the children, but a contrasting role in the advancement of that interest; at the other extreme we have the state or polis, all of whose citizens are required to protect and to promote the welfare of the state, but whose individual contribution to this end must vary considerably. Throughout his Funeral Speech, as it is reported by Thucydides, the Athenian statesman Pericles was very anxious to stress group consciousness among his audience, and this he did in several ways, by stressing the equality of the citizens, the self-sufficiency of the state, and the distinctive Athenian style of life (Thuc. II 35ff.).³³ The Thesmophoria catered for the needs of a group larger than the family but smaller than the state, and it was a group homogeneous in composition and self-assertive in character or that at least is the impression left by the plot of Aristophanes' comedy with its plan to punish that playwright, poor Euripides, obsessed with the evil guile of women.

The *Thesmophoriazusae* leaves us in no doubt that women were incorrigible gossips. And what did they gossip about? Again the plot of the comedy leaves us in no doubt that they gossiped about Euripides' latest effusion on the stage, the *Andromeda*, and its rescue of the princess by an appropriately romantic Perseus (see our p. 9). The fact that the emotion displayed by the hero of the play was as foreign to the women of Athens as the story of the rescue, which, after all, featured not only a flying Perseus but also a predatory sea-monster, means nothing. Marriages at Edremit are arranged in the main, but when women gathered to work and to chat «the young girls sang pop songs which they had learned from the radio, from records, or from the movies, knowingly discussing every singer's personal life and every word of every song ... all love songs and mostly about frustrated love».³⁴

³³ Cf. my comments in *Greece and Rome* 20 (1973), p. 111-121.

³⁴ L.A. and Margaret C. FALLERS, *loc.cit.* (n. 30), p. 247.

Women are not the sole «depressed» class in modern society; there are also the ethnically disadvantaged. Blacks are as easily distinguished in a predominantly white community as are women. In some mixed societies, in the United States for example, many blacks have abandoned attempts to become fully integrated into the community and prefer to form an exclusively black group, rejecting any co-operation with whites however liberal, and so we encounter organizations like the Black Muslims. Segregation, in other words, can be seen as an alternative to integration in the battle for social justice, and the crucial factor is the quality of life possible within the segregated group. Black groups can be fiercely aggressive and one sign of their black pride is a contempt for persons and things non-black. But I make these points not because I wish to argue either for or against the integration-versus-separation issue, but merely in order to point out that there are black liberationists, and feminists too, who today have seized upon a solution to their problem which conforms to what was actually practised in antiquity and continues to be the standard pattern of life in Edremit well into the twentieth century, a distinct life-style of its own for any group clearly distinguishable whether on an ethnic or sexist basis.

But there remains a strong human need to be valued and welcomed for one's own sake.³⁵ What scope existed in Athens for such a need to be satisfied outside a homosexual attachment? A clue is offered by life in Edremit today in the often very intense and very affectionate tie between brother and sister which is said to be «perhaps for many the most intense cross-sex relationship they will ever experience»; indeed an impression was created «that frequently brother-sister relationships had an almost romantic quality».³⁶ That such a relationship does develop is not surprising when we allow for the fact that brother and sister are brought up together in close intimacy but are otherwise rigidly segregated from coevals of the opposite sex. The differentiation in sex roles is also crucial, for if men and women have different qualities and a different function in life, competition between them is an impossibility and competition is the one thing certain to sour any relationship. The scope for competition between brothers is made very evident, for

³⁵ Cf. K.J. DOVER, *Greek Homosexuality*, London 1978, p. 88.

³⁶ L.A. and Margaret C. FALLERS, *loc.cit.* (n. 30), p. 258 and 250. Compare, from the nineteenth century, the remarkable study by E.F.M. BENECKE, *Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry*, London 1896, who maintained that «the relations between Electra and Orestes, or Antigone and Polynices, are absolutely those of modern lovers» (p. 48).

example, in an essay on brotherly love by Plutarch (*Moralia* 478Aff.), who at one point urges brothers to seek distinction in quite different fields (486Bff.) so as to avoid rivalry. The best known example from Greek literature of the close relationship between brother and sister, the relationship between Antigone and Polyneices in Sophocles' play, contrasts violently with the rivalry over the throne of Thebes between Polyneices and his brother Eteocles which culminated in their duel and mutual death. Siblings of the opposite sex cannot compete but siblings of the same sex can, and so sister and brother love each other, whereas brother and brother or sister and sister quarrel. And, of course, the relationship between Antigone and Polyneices was strengthened by the appalling fate which befell both their father and their mother. I wonder whether the fall from grace of their father Miltiades similarly reinforced the affection between Cimon and his sister Elpinice and so gave rise to suspicion of incest.³⁷

Love between brother and sister hardly qualifies as romantic love as we understand the term today, but perhaps we may accept it as a form of true love and even a truer love than was possible between husband and wife in antiquity. I would not, however, press this point, for I appreciate how infrequently our sources allow us to penetrate beneath the surface of the relationship between husband and wife. And I remember a story told to an Athenian jury by a husband prosecuted for murdering his wife's lover, according to which the husband became cross as his wife would not leave him and go to stop their hungry child howling. The husband's anger changed to laughter when the wife suggested he wanted to get rid of her so that he could amuse himself, as he had before when drunk, with their little slave-girl (Lysias 1 12-13). The wife, it is true, was up to no good, but when a husband and wife can enjoy together a joke like this, we have, I am convinced, evidence of a genuinely human and warm relationship.

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³⁷ Plut., *Cimon* 4.5-7. Compare also Plutarch on Cimon's passionate nature, which extended to a deep love of his wife (4.8-9).

OLYMPIAS*

In the course of studies of the reigns of Philip and Alexander of Macedon (particularly in analysis of the murder of Philip) scholars have often dealt with Olympias, wife of Philip and mother of Alexander. But, since Grace Macurdy's sensitive although now necessarily dated biographical essay, no lengthy study of Olympia's entire career has appeared¹. This relative neglect has not happened by accident. The extraordinary hostility to Olympias which characterizes virtually all

* Note the following abbreviations:

- H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich II*, Munich 1926 (BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*);
 G.N. CROSS, *Epirus, A Study in Greek Constitutional Development*, Cambridge 1932 (CROSS, *Epirus*);
 J.R. ELLIS, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, London 1976 (ELLIS, *Philip*);
 J.R. ELLIS, *The Assassination of Philip II*, in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson (Institute for Balkan Studies, 158)*, Thessalonike 1981, p. 99-137 (ELLIS, *Assassination*);
 R.M. ERRINGTON, *From Babylon to Triparadeisos: 323-320 B.C.*, *JHS* 90 (1970), p. 49-77 (ERRINGTON, *Babylon*);
 J.R. FEARS, *Pausanias, The Assassin of Philip II*, *Athenaeum* 53 (1975), p. 111-135 (FEARS, *Assassin*);
 P. GREEN, *Alexander of Macedon*, Harmondsworth 1974 (GREEN, *Alexander*);
 J.R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch. Alexander. A Commentary*, Oxford 1969 (HAMILTON, *Plutarch*);
 N.G.L. HAMMOND - G.T. GRIFFITH, *History of Macedonia II*, Oxford 1979 (HAMMOND, *HM II* and GRIFFITH, *HM II*);
 N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Alexander the Great*, Park Ridge, New Jersey 1980 (HAMMOND *Alexander*);
 N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Some Passages in Arrian Concerning Alexander*, *CQ N.S.* 30 (1980), p. 455-476 (HAMMOND, *Passages*);
 W. HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias (337/6 B.C.)*, in *Classical Contributions: Studies in Honour of M.F. McGregor*, Locust Valley, New York 1981, p. 51-57 (HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*);
 G.H. MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore 1932 (MACURDY, *HQ*);
 A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*» *matrimoniale, ereditario e dinastico nella Macedonia di Filippo II*, *RSA* 6-7 (1976-1977), p. 81-118 (PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*»);
 H. STRASBURGER, art. *Olympias Nr. 5*, in *RE XVIII* 1 (1939), col. 177-182 (STRASBURGER, *Olympias*).

¹ MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 22-45. See also BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*, p. 283-288; STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 177-182. R. SCHNEIDER, *Olympias, Die Mutter Alexanders des Grossen*, Zwickau 1885, was unavailable to me. W. TRITSCH, *Olympias, Die Mutter Alexanders des Grossen*, Frankfurt 1936, is a popular work. See most recently HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 51-57, which considers only the early part of Olympias' career. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Classical Association of the Midwest and South at its annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, on April 15, 1982.

extant ancient sources creates profound source problems. It is traditional to attribute this unusual degree of hostility to an ancient smear campaign waged by Cassander, Olympias' arch enemy. Cassander's efforts should certainly not be ignored, but other less commonly recognized factors also contribute to the attitude of our sources.

As Macurdy noticed², our sources react much more negatively to violence and murder engineered by Olympias than to similar acts committed by her husband or son. They tend to blame Olympias rather than Alexander for reprehensible actions which cannot plausibly be supposed to have been committed without, at the very least, her son's acquiescence. Olympias apparently made a better villain than Alexander. We should not ignore the sense of outrage which the more aggressive actions of Olympias generated in our Greek sources: she in no way conformed to Greek expectations about conventional female behavior. Moreover, ancient authors frequently present us with aphorisms about women in general and the actions of Olympias (and other royal women) in particular which ought to be regarded with great suspicion³. In addition (see below) Greek or modern assumptions about monogamous marriage tend to color analysis of an essentially polygamous situation.

After cursory recognition of the bias of the sources, most scholars then proceed to use them fairly uncritically. Mirroring the obsession of the ancient sources with Olympias' supposedly colorful personality, modern writers use these ancient caricatures as explanations in themselves for events and fail to ask important questions. A collection of modern psychological verities, once applied to Olympias and her husband and son, lead to interpretations difficult to substantiate⁴. Olympias

² MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 45. STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 179, and ELLIS, *Assassination*, p. 117, rightly question the dependability of all literary sources dealing with Olympias prior to the period of Hieronymus.

³ Plut., *Alex.* 68.3; Diod. XIX 11.9; Plut., *Alex.* 39.7.

⁴ E.g. GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 107, who justifies his acceptance of other lurid tales about Olympias by believing the extremely dubious account of Olympias cooking up Cleopatra and her baby (Paus. VIII 7.7; see below). R. LANE FOX, *Alexander the Great*, London 1973, p. 475, claims that during the siege of Pydna Olympias ate both elephants and the corpses of her maids, yet Diod. XIX 49.4 says only that the non-Greeks of the city, near starvation, turned to cannibalism of the dead. R.I. HARRIS, *Dilemma of Alexander*, *PACA* 11 (1968), p. 46 ff., has Olympias and Alexander struggling with an unresolved Oedipus complex. HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 51, assumes that Olympias, «neglected by her husband, transferred all affection to Alexander», though we know nothing of Olympias' feelings about Philip's affections.

has, oddly, become a stock figure of melodrama, somehow laughable in a gruesome sort of way and certainly not a figure to be taken seriously.

It is easy enough to criticize past treatment of Olympias' role in Macedonian political life, but much more difficult to escape the source problems which have led to this treatment. Indeed, one cannot escape them. Nonetheless, some initial analysis of Olympias' career is possible. One helpful corrective is a look at an analogous situation in a better documented culture.

Stafford's work on royal women in early Merovingian, Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon monarchies and on their political relationships with their sons⁵ outlines a situation strikingly similar to that in ancient Macedonia: primogeniture is not fully established; serial monogamy or polygamy is the rule; often there are no titular queens or chief wives. She even notes familiar source problems. Later ecclesiastical writers, attempting to impose monogamy on a non-monogamous culture, labelled many of these women concubines although they were not so regarded by their contemporaries. These writers tended to be hostile to aggressive royal women, portraying them as schemers and workers of magic. Often the women are blamed for things actually done by their sons, apparently because they made safer scapegoats than their sons the kings.

A number of Stafford's conclusions relate to the Macedonian situation and particularly to the career of Olympias: the absence of a titular queen or chief wife meant that the status of royal wives remained low; kings found it useful to keep wives and their sons uncertain about the succession and thus dependent; women of high birth and strong personality had the greatest difficulties accepting the low status of king's wife; new marriages were *always* a threat to the possible succession of earlier sons because of the absence of absolute primogeniture; a close bond tied mother to son because the mother's status depended on the son; royal women had most political influence after their sons had taken the throne. This comparison produces two conclusions helpful in considering Olympias. Strong and aggressive royal women in patriarchal societies will be regarded with hostility. More important, in the societies

⁵ P. STAFFORD, *Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages*, in *Medieval Women*, Oxford 1978, p. 79-100. Perhaps another parallel is the historiographical fate of Eleanor of Aquitaine until recent times. M. MEADE, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, New York 1977, observes that Eleanor was long viewed as a devil and ignored by professional historians.

Stafford describes and in that of Macedonia, until the son gains the throne, the interests of mother and son are one, whereas those of father and son are in some degree competitive⁶.

Two other correctives should aid in the study of Olympias. Because of the extreme prejudice of the sources, we cannot know the true nature of Olympias' personality. She may indeed have been extremely unpleasant, as is usually assumed, but there is no evidence that everyone disliked her or found her difficult to deal with — to the contrary. Thus arguments solely based on the supposed nature of her personality should be rejected. Assumptions about her personal motivation tend to obscure consideration of her policy. The largely anecdotal information about Olympias preserved in our literary sources for Alexander's reign should always be distrusted, whereas information preserved by outside sources (inscriptions, speeches) should be treated as authoritative.

Olympias' long career was a kind of watershed: before her royal Macedonian women were virtually invisible, while after her, in the Hellenistic period, queens often had important roles as co-rulers and regents. Macurdy first recognized this⁷, but like so many mesmerized by the colorful portrait of Olympias found in our sources, she explained this change as a result of Olympias' personality, and apparently that alone. In fact, a number of factors account for the expanding role of Macedonian royal women. I shall first consider the public position of the women of the royal family of Macedonia in general, and then Olympias' actions during her husband's reign, during her son's, and finally her remarkable career after the death of Alexander.

I

Olympias was not a queen. True, Greek writers may have called her

⁶ *Contra* ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 213, who believes the son ultimately belonged to the father. The events leading to Philip's death tend to disprove this. The king could always make another son king and he did not derive his status from his son. GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 41, rightly emphasizes the ambivalence of relations between Philip and Alexander. FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126, assumes, on the basis of Plut., *Alex.* 9.3, that Olympias was the cause of tensions between father and son, but Plutarch actually says that she made existing troubles worse.

⁷ MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 44. See also MACURDY, *Queen Eurydice and the Evidence for Woman Power in Early Macedonia*, *AJPh* 48 (1927), p. 201-214, for a discussion of the lack of real political power of Macedonian royal women prior to Olympias.

«*basilissa*» (queen), but in inscriptions she appears as «*Olympias*» with no title; in all probability, like Macedonian kings, she had none.⁸ Possibly, although far from certainly, changes in the personal names of some Macedonian royal women may indicate some quasi-official role⁹. Apart from this mere suggestion of a public role, the women of the royal family appear in our sources only in reference to their marriages and in occasional mention of domestic tasks. These women had no political power in their own right but, particularly during a regency or change in the succession, they might attempt to exercise political influence¹⁰.

Philip and Alexander certainly practiced polygamy and so, in all probability, did earlier kings. Among these many women, was there a chief wife, an official consort, a queen in fact if not in name? Earlier scholars believed that only some of the seven women mentioned by Satyrus (*ap. Athen.* XIII 557b-d) in connection to Philip were wives and assumed that the rest were concubines — in other words, that he had one chief wife at a time — but there is no real evidence for such an assumption and few would support this belief today¹¹. This newer view

⁸ SIG 252N, 5 ff. with N.3; see B. KEIL, *Von Delphischen Rechnungswesen*, *Hermes* 37 (1902), p. 511; SEG IX 2 (discussion below); her name alone appears in a tomb inscription: C. EDSON, *The Tomb of Olympias*, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), p. 84 ff. (now identified by A.N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Epigram on the Tomb of Olympias at Pydna*, *AncW* 5 (1982), nos. 1 & 2, p. 9-16, as the tomb of Olympias). See R.M. ERRINGTON, *Macedonian 'Royal Style' and its Historical Significance*, *JHS* 94 (1974), p. 20-37 for conclusion that Greek writers called Macedonian kings *Basileus* but that the kings themselves did not use the title until 306 B.C. G.H. MACURDY, *Basilinna and Basilissa, the Alleged Title of the 'Queen Archon' in Athens*, *AJPh* 49 (1928), p. 276 ff. believes that *Basilissa* was a title by the time of Olympias, and perhaps earlier. Her evidence (*Athen.* XIII 586c and XIII 595d) demonstrates only that, like the masculine equivalent, the term was used by Greeks. C.D. BUCK, *Is the suffix Basilissa, etc. of Macedonian Origin?*, *CPh* 9 (1914), p. 370 ff. rejects the idea of Macedonian origin.

⁹ So W. HECKEL, *Kleopatra or Eurydike*, *Phoenix* 32 (1978), p. 157 ff. and Id., *Polyxena, the Mother of Alexander the Great*, *Chiron* 11 (1981), p. 79-86 *contra* A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, *Eurydike-Kleopatra. Nota ad Arr. Anab.*, 3,6,5, *ASNP* S. III 11 (1981), p. 295-306 and E. BADIAN, *Eurydice*, in *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington 1982, p. 99-110. Olympias herself is known in connection to four names (*Plut.*, *Mor.* 401 a-b; *Just.* IX 7.13). See A.B. BOSWORTH, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander I*, Oxford 1980, p. 282-283 for references to other name changes. See below n. 33.

¹⁰ See HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 16 and *HM* II, p. 154 for a discussion of the limited role of these royal women; see also G.H. MACURDY, *loc.cit.* (n. 7), p. 201 ff. and 1-8.

¹¹ On polygamy as a traditional practice of Macedonian kings, see FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126. K.J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte* III.2, Berlin and Leipzig 1923, p. 68 makes a distinction between wives and concubines and is followed by BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 283; MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 25 and GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 515, n. 55. P. GREEN, *The Royal Tombs of Vergina: A Historical Analysis*, in *Philip II, Alexander the Great, and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington 1982, p. 138 ff. recently reasserted this view. For

need not mean that all seven women had equal importance in Philip's eyes or in those of his court, but only that their legal situation did not determine their status. Misunderstanding arose because Greek sources had preconceived expectations of monogamous marriage and imposed their expectation on Macedonian court life¹². Prestianni Giallombardo has argued persuasively that the appropriate model for Macedonian royal marriage is archaic and thus polygamous; in this as in so many other things Macedonia, by Greek standards, was backward and old-fashioned¹³. In such polygamous marriages, the amount of *timé* awarded determined a wife's status and *timé* was determined, primarily, by the ability to produce male heirs (it is likely that the social and political standing of a woman's family also signified)¹⁴. As Stafford's work suggests, the most obvious consequence of such a system was tremendous insecurity for royal wives. For them there could be no stability until their sons inherited the throne. Before this long-desired event they were necessarily extremely vulnerable.

II

For the reasons already discussed, statements of any certitude about Olympias' personal life are 'difficult. Doubtless she brought to the nebulous and insecure position of royal wife a powerful personality. Although she may have been devoted to a number of cults¹⁵, Olympias

persuasive arguments against this view see ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 62, 213-214, 254, n. 96 and *Assassination*, p. 114-115 and PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 81-118.

¹² HAMMOND, *HM* II, p. 154.

¹³ PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 96 and N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Philaids and the Chersonese*, *CQ* 6 (1956), p. 3, n. 12, compare archaic aristocratic marriage and Macedonian royal marriages. Prestianni Giallombardo observes that this sort of marriage suits the generally archaic social structure of Macedonia. See J.P. VERNANT, *Le Mariage en Grèce Archaïque*, *PP* 28 (1973), p. 51-74.

¹⁴ ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 213 and PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 96 emphasize the prime importance of production of a male heir in determining the status of a royal wife. Prestianni Giallombardo, however, rightly puts the problem in the context of *time*, thus invoking a broader determinant of status whereas ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 254, n. 96, denies that a woman had any intrinsic status because of family rank. J.P. VERNANT, *loc.cit.* (n. 13), p. 61, does see noble blood as a factor in the status of wives and G.H. MACURDY, *loc.cit.* (n. 7), p. 206, may be right to guess that Archelaus did not immediately take the throne because of his mother's low birth. The custom of polygamy does not necessitate equal status among all wives, especially if more than one wife has produced male offspring. Not all statements about wives of low birth need necessarily spring from misunderstanding of polygamy.

¹⁵ If Olympias did first meet Philip at the Samothracian mysteries (Plut., *Alex.* 2^{1.2}),

was particularly pious about Dionysus, just as her son would be¹⁶. Disallowing the most blatantly hostile remarks of the sources, it seems fair to say that Olympias was an unusually determined person, vengeful, ruthless, devoted to her son's success and her own, a better dynast than politician. This list of characteristics would suit her son nearly as well as Olympias herself. The mother, however, lacked the son's arena¹⁷.

Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, a king of the Molossians, began her public career with her marriage to Philip in 357. Clearly Philip and Arybbas, Olympias' uncle (her father had died) arranged the marriage as a political alliance intended to tie these two northern, semi-Hellenic kingdoms together, primarily against the common Illyrian menace. Union with Olympias constituted the first move in Philip's plan to turn Molossia into some sort of dependent status¹⁸. Olympias was neither Philip's first nor last bride (Satyr. *ap.* Athen. XIII 557b-d): Philip had married several times before and very likely already had one son, Arrhidaeus, by the Thessalian Philinna¹⁹.

then she and Philip were both initiates of this fertility cult, often associated with that of Dionysus. See R.E. WITT, *The Kabeiroi in Ancient Macedonia*, in *Ancient Macedonia II*, Thessalonike 1977, p. 67-80 for references. However, the reference to Samothrace is part of the story of Olympias' marriage as a love match, a story now usually rejected: GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 215. Plutarch also mentions Orphic rites in connection to Olympias (Plut., *Alex.* 2.5).

¹⁶ Plut., *Alex.* 2; Athen. XIII 560 f; XIV 659 f. Too often her genuine devotion to Dionysus is connected, as in Plutarch, *Alex.* 2-3, to the obviously fictional tales about Olympias mating with a snake, almost certainly a creation of the period after Alexander's visit to Siwah. N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Epirus*, Oxford 1967, p. 438, n. 5, notes the importance of snakes in the cult of Olympias' native Dodona. As a devotee, she may well have kept snakes as pets (Cic., *De div.* 2.135) and offered them for use in public celebrations (Plut., *Alex.* 2.5-6). On Olympias and the cult of Dionysus, see A. HENRICHS, *Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina*, *HSPH* 82 (1978), p. 143. On Olympias and Alexander and Dionysus: E.A. FREDRICKSMEYER, *The Ancestral Rites of Alexander the Great*, *CPh* 61 (1966), p. 179-182 and L. EDMUNDS, *The Religiosity of Alexander*, *GRBS* 12 (1971), p. 37 ff. The letter of Olympias about religion mentioned in Athen. XIV 659 f. may well be spurious. See HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 5; E.A. FREDRICKSMEYER, *loc.cit.*, *passim*; R. LANE FOX, *op.cit.* (n. 4), p. 508.

¹⁷ MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 28. Too often the negative picture of Olympias in Plutarch (e.g. *Alex.* 9.3) is accepted uncritically, despite the fact that this description is part of Plutarch's clearly mistaken picture of monogamous marital strife and is in fact contradicted by another passage in Plutarch (*Mor.* 141b-c).

¹⁸ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *op.cit.* (n. 16), p. 533; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 215; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 61. A.B. BOSWORTH, *Philip II and Upper Macedonia*, *CQ* 21 (1971), p. 104, sees it as a marriage meant to conciliate Upper Macedonia. See below. As PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», observes, the function of this marriage is essentially similar to that of Philip's other marriages.

¹⁹ So ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 255, n. 96; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 225; PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 98, *contra* C. EHRHARDT, *Two Notes on Philip of Macedon's First Intervention*

Alexander was born about a year after the marriage. Since Philip's other son Arrhidaeus proved somehow not «*capax imperii*,»²⁰ Alexander must early on have been regarded as the heir and Olympias as the mother of the heir. Doubtless later writers exaggerated Olympias' importance in Philip's court because they assumed she was his only legitimate wife and because of the subsequent career of her son. Nonetheless, if only because she was the mother of the heir, Olympias was the most important of Philip's women²¹.

Whether Olympias had political influence with Philip is unclear. True, Philip first removed Olympias' brother Alexander from her uncle Arybbas' control and later placed her brother on the Molossian throne, having driven Arybbas out. Philip's sponsorship of his brother-in-law may have been a consequence of Olympias' efforts²², or it may have been the result of dissatisfaction with Arybbas and the conviction that the young Alexander made a better tool. Certainly Philip married Olympias because he was interested in Molossia, not the reverse.

Olympias did have some influence in the matter of her son's education. One of Alexander's early tutors was a relative of Olympias, chosen either by Olympias herself or chosen to flatter her and her family²³. To move from this minor and possibly indirect role of Olympias in her son's development to the hypothesis that Philip sent Alexander to Mieza to complete his education in order to remove him from the mother's

in *Thessaly*, *CQ* 17 (1967), p. 297. MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 26 is uncertain. The argument hangs on the date of the marriage to Philinna and this in turn depends in part on whether one accepts the apparent chronology in the Satyrus passage.

²⁰ Plutarch (*Alex.* 77.5) blames Arrhidaeus' condition on poison administered by Olympias. W.W. TARN, *Alexander the Great* II, Cambridge 1949, p. 116, n. 2, first suggested that the story is a remnant of Cassander's anti-Olympias propaganda and is followed by HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 217 and HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 51. BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 284 and MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 29 are unwilling to reject the story entirely.

²¹ ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 255, n. 96.

²² BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 283 and MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 26, believe that Olympias was behind Philip's decision and ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 91, thinks it possible that Olympias' fear for her brother's life was a factor. GRIFFITH, *HM* II, p. 306, argues effectively against this view. See also R.M. ERRINGTON, *Arybbas the Molossian*, *GRBS* 16 (1975), p. 41-50, for the possibility that Philip put his brother-in-law on the throne much earlier than usually supposed. Now see *contra* GRIFFITH, *HM* II, p. 308, n. 3.

²³ Leonidas, tutor of Alexander, was a relative of Olympias' (Plut., *Alex.* 5.4); see BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 235-236. It is generally assumed that Alexander and Olympias were quite close while Alexander was growing up and that perhaps father and son were not close, but little hard evidence supports this (W.W. TARN, *op.cit.* (n. 20) II, p. 236; J.R. HAMILTON, *Alexander's Early Life*, *G&R* 12 (1965), p. 117). Certainly, as GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 41, observes, Alexander and his father can rarely have seen each other.

influence seems unfounded²⁴. Such a suggestion is the result of reading later events back into the years before 337.

Equally teleological is the very common assertion that relations between Olympias and Philip had deteriorated over years²⁵. The only evidence which supports this assertion is a well known passage in Plutarch (*Alex.* 9.3) which speaks of the troubles of Philip's women's quarters and says that Olympias made them worse, thanks to her ill temper, by urging on a disagreement between father and son. Since this remark is followed by Plutarch's account of Philip's marriage to Cleopatra, there is no reason to assume any great passage of time, even if we grant, for the sake of argument, that the rest of Plutarch's statement is true. After all, what Plutarch implies is that there were already other difficulties in the women's quarters and that there were *already* problems between father and son. Neither statement is surprising, considering what we already know about this sort of royal polygamous marriage. In short, all that can be said with certainty about Olympias and her son's dealings with Philip before Chaeroneia is that Alexander enjoyed the position of heir and Olympias that of mother of the heir.

Sometime after Chaeroneia, probably in the summer of 337²⁶, busy with preparations for the joint Graeco-Macedonian invasion of the Persian Empire, Philip took his last wife, Cleopatra, a Macedonian. Satyrus (*ap.* Athen. XIII 557d) rightly said that this marriage upset Philip's whole life. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 9.4-5) and Satyrus (*ap.* Athen. XIII 557d-e), at the wedding feast Cleopatra's guardian Attalus publicly insulted Alexander by implying that he was somehow not Philip's legitimate heir and by suggesting that Cleopatra would provide

²⁴ GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 55; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 161.

²⁵ J.R. HAMILTON, *loc.cit.* (n. 23), p. 117; FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 677; HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 52. HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 4-6, supported by GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 677, n. 3, argues that Plut., *Alex.* 2.4, 3.1 demonstrates a pre-Methone date for arguments between husband and wife (i.e. 354), but neither passage deserves belief and both are likely to have been created after Philip lost his eye. HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 53, claims that Olympias had tolerated Philip's previous marriages «only grudgingly» because they were made for political reasons, but rejected Cleopatra's wedding because it was made for personal reasons (see below). Aside from Plut., *Alex.* 9.5, already discussed, Heckel adduces as proof for his view Plut., *Mor.* 141b-c and 178e-f. The first passage, if anything, shows Olympias becoming friendly with another wife, after initial suspicions because of rumors of sorcery. The second passage demonstrates Alexander's concern about his own succession and says nothing about Olympias. Both passages are anecdotal and not very trustworthy.

²⁶ See ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 210-211 and 302, n. 4 for a discussion of dating problems and now see W. HECKEL, *Philip II, Cleopatra and Karanos*, *RFIC* 107 (1979), p. 385 ff., for a convincing argument for a date in late summer 337 or early fall.

such an heir²⁷. Alexander and Olympias immediately left Macedonia together. Alexander was officially reconciled to his father and returned to Macedonia. We do not know whether Olympias returned to Macedonia before Philip's death²⁸. Olympias spent her exile in Molossia with her brother. Justin (ix 7.7) asserts that she tried to persuade her brother to invade Macedonia in order to avenge her dishonor.

Clearly Philip intended his next move, the arrangement of a marriage between his daughter by Olympias, Cleopatra, and Olympias' brother, to re-establish the Molossian-Macedonian alliance. Possibly he also meant the marriage to be the sign of a reconciliation with Olympias²⁹. In any case, at the public festivities celebrating this marriage, Pausanias, one of Philip's bodyguards, struck down the king. Although Pausanias had a personal grievance against Philip, many ancient and modern writers have assumed that he was only a tool and that behind him were more important figures, possibly Olympias, or Olympias and Alexander³⁰. Certainly the result of the assassination was Alexander's immediate succession to the throne, just in time to lead the great Asian expedition himself.

The murder of Philip is probably the most popular who-done-it in ancient history and the events leading up to it are no less puzzling. We do not know with certainty why Philip married Cleopatra and why Olympias and Alexander reacted to this marriage in the way they did. There is no consensus about this tangled series of events. I shall not attempt to solve these interrelated mysteries here, but content myself

²⁷ A.B. BOSWORTH, *loc.cit.* (n. 18), p. 104, takes the reference to lack of legitimacy to refer to the fact that Alexander was not pure Macedonian, but ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 215, rightly observes that Philip himself was not pure Macedonian.

²⁸ Only Plutarch, *Mor.* 179c says directly that both mother and son were reconciled to Philip and thus implies that Olympias returned. E. BADIAN, *The Death of Philip*, *Phoenix* 17 (1963), p. 249, followed by HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 28; FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126 and GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 685, argue that she did not. K. KRAFT, *Der «rationale» Alexander* (*Frankfurter althistorische Studien*, 5), Kallmunz 1971, p. 19; GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 104, 524, n. 63; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 217; PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 109; HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 53, argue convincingly that she did return.

²⁹ E. BADIAN, *loc.cit.* (n. 28), p. 246, argued that the planned marriage of Cleopatra was intended to limit Olympias' influence in Epirus and is followed by FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 128, and GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 682. MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 30-31 and ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 219, 304, n. 32 view the marriage as essentially positive for Olympias, perhaps even her contrivance. See now HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 53 for a very persuasive argument that this marriage signalled the public reconciliation with Olympias which Philip could not have neglected.

³⁰ See E. BADIAN, *loc.cit.* (n. 28), *passim*; A.B. BOSWORTH, *loc.cit.* (n. 18), *passim*; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 211-227; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Philip's Tomb in Its Historical Context*, *GRBS* 19 (1978), p. 331-350; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 675-698; ELLIS, *Assassination*, *passim*.

with a few suggestions about Olympias' role in all of this and the plausible limits of this role.

Why did Philip marry Cleopatra? Love alone would not seem to suffice; it never had before. If Philip wished to produce more heirs — presumably an aim in all his marriages — then there is no explanation for the extreme reaction of Olympias and Alexander to this marriage when they had not so reacted to the others³¹. It is unlikely that Philip considered Olympias important enough in her own right to arrange the new marriage with Cleopatra merely to drive her from court³², since he could always have sent her home without bothering to marry again. In any event, this solution would leave unexplained why this particular marriage would have had so marked an effect on Olympias. It seems more reasonable to conclude that Philip, possibly because of political factions in Macedonia, wanted a Macedonian bride with important connections³³.

Whatever Philip's motives, the reaction of Olympias and her son is fairly clear. Whether or not they were justified in their feelings, mother and son felt that Alexander's succession was threatened. Concluding that they over-reacted to the situation³⁴, though certainly a possibility,

³¹ ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 215. HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 36, believes that Olympias and the other wives were past child-bearing age by the time of Philip's last marriage. In fact, Olympias' age, let alone that of later wives, is uncertain. C. KLOTZSCH, *Epirotische Geschichte bis zum Jahre 280 v. Chr.*, Berlin 1911, p. 58, followed by BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*, p. 283, suggest that she was born about 375, but she could easily have been several years younger, granted a marriage date of 357. In any case, if Olympias was born around 375, then she could still bear children in 336.

³² FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126. Forcing her away would be more likely to cause trouble than keeping her at court.

³³ W. HECKEL, *loc.cit.* (n. 9), p. 157, has argued that the fact that Cleopatra was sometimes known as Eurydice may indicate that Philip was honoring her and dishonoring Olympias. His argument hangs on the assumption that «Eurydice» was her second name, but BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*, p. 213; HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 24; A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, *loc.cit.* (n. 9), p. 295 ff., all disagree. Even if Heckel's assumption is correct, the use of the name «Eurydice» (which MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 23 ff., believed «tended to acquire dynastic significance») is not sufficiently consistent to demonstrate that the name change marked her as the foremost of Philip's wives. Olympias herself had long been Philip's most prominent wife, but did not take the name. See now E. BADIAN, *loc.cit.* (n. 9), *passim*, and n. 9 above.

³⁴ FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 134; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 21 f.; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 687; HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 53 ff., all doubt that there was any serious danger to Alexander's succession; in a way, this is not the point. HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 265, reverses the real situation when he says that Alexander endangered his chance at succession for his mother's sake. ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 226 and *Assassination*, p. 135, doubts the whole story of difficulties between Olympias and Philip and ascribes it to anti-Olympias propaganda but his

involves the assumption that we are either better informed about Macedonian court politics than they or better able to judge their significance. Olympias and Alexander were not fools and had a great deal to lose. Alexander and Olympias left Macedonia because Philip had in some way jeopardized their mutual *timé*. As we have seen, Olympias' *timé* depended upon her son's position as heir. If one was in jeopardy, then something was wrong with the other.

What was wrong? Justin (ix 7.2) says that Philip repudiated Olympias; literally this cannot be true³⁵. It is correct to conclude that the timing of this series of events means that the insult of Attalus, rather than the marriage itself, caused the problem³⁶. Such a conclusion, however, need not mean that the insult and threat to Alexander's succession came only from Attalus. At this moment of crisis, Philip gave Alexander every reason to believe that his position was genuinely in jeopardy. His father did nothing to punish the man who publicly questioned Alexander's right to succeed. Indeed, he may have attempted to punish his son instead³⁷.

arguments do not convince, primarily because the public side of these events would have been too well known to allow for wholesale fabrication.

³⁵ While FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 126 ff., and GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 82, accept the idea that Olympias was divorced, see *contra* ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 212; PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 104, and HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 54.

³⁶ So ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 214 and HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 53. Otherwise Alexander would not have been at the banquet nor Olympias still at court.

³⁷ As FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 127 and HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 52, suppose. Heckel considers Philip's actions «understandable in a Macedonian context», and cites the murder of Clitus and Philip's drunken jeers after Chaeroneia (Diod. XVI 87.1-2), but these examples do not prove his point: Alexander turned against Clitus because he felt that Clitus had insulted him and Philip mocked the Greeks because he had defeated them and they were his enemies. If the situations were indeed similar, then Philip should have turned against Attalus rather than against his son. *Contra* ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 214, Attalus spoiled the wedding banquet by his insulting toast. Alexander merely responded to the insult and implied threat, in predictable fashion. Even if we discount the story of Philip's drawn sword as melodrama, we are still left with the heir to the throne having his succession publicly threatened and with his father the king doing nothing to reassure the son or punish the offender. The incident is similar to the story of Philip's treatment of Pausanias after the rape. In fact, this is the genuine and more suggestive parallel. Recently ELLIS, *Assassination*, p. 100-110, has attempted to reject the whole story of the quarrel and insult at the banquet and the subsequent exile, as it is recounted with variations in Plut., *Alex.* 9.4-5; Satyrus ap. Athen. XIII 557d-e; Just. IX 7.3-5. Ellis' views, based primarily on source criticism, fail to convince (see above, n. 34) because they involve an unconvincing distinction between Satyrus and the other two, because they attempt to discredit the entire account on the basis of the improbability of certain elements (e.g. Olympias' public glee over the murder in Justin), and because they involve the belief that entirely fictitious accounts of well-known events could have been accepted soon after.

As we have seen, Philip recalled his son and made a public reconciliation with him. The marriage of his daughter may very well mean that he also made his peace with Olympias. Whether these gestures were only that or whether they indicated genuine new understanding one cannot say. Philip's actions in this period seem impossibly inconsistent. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 10.1-3) Alexander angered his father when he sought to replace his half-brother Arrhidaeus as the groom in a marriage alliance with Pixodarus, satrap of Caria. Plutarch says that Alexander's friends and Olympias urged him to this action, claiming that the alliance indicated that Arrhidaeus had supplanted Alexander as heir. Philip retaliated by sending Alexander's friends into exile. No other source confirms this story, though Arrian (III 6.5-6) mentions the exile of Alexander's friends in connection with Philip's marriage to Cleopatra. If genuine (which is not certain), the Pixodarus incident may indicate that the reconciliation of father and son was hollow and that Alexander had no faith in it³⁸.

As for the murder itself, one must recognize that Olympias could not have moved against Philip without some support from Alexander. Possibly one may have been more deeply involved than the other, but if Olympias engineered the actual murder then Alexander, even if uninvolved, could not have afforded to have his mother's participation become known. Much more likely is an equal involvement of mother and son. In matters affecting Alexander's succession, Olympias and Alexander necessarily functioned as one unit. If Olympias had a hand in her husband's death, what would her motive have been? Sexual jealousy, so late in a polygamous marriage, is unproven and not particularly likely. Since, as we have seen, there was not any official «queen», then replacement in that role is not possible motivation³⁹. The only plausible possibilities seem either fear that Alexander might not reach the throne or a desire that he do so immediately. On the other hand, Philip's

³⁸ So E. BADIAN, *loc.cit.* (n. 28), p. 245, followed by HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 121. FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 127; ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 218, 226, 305, n. 41 and *Assassination*, p. 134; GRIFFITH, *HM II*, p. 679; HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 37; K. KRAFT, *op.cit.* (n. 28), p. 26 f. urge caution, but E. BADIAN, *Review of K. Kraft, Der 'rationale' Alexander, Gnomon* 47 (1975), p. 54, makes the persuasive argument that Ptolemy/Aristobulus would have been very likely to omit this less than creditable incident; he is followed by HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 57. HECKEL, *Ibid.*, n. 47 makes the suggestion that Olympias and the exiled friends may have constituted a faction, having in common lack of connection to the old Macedonian nobility.

³⁹ *Contra* HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 56-57.

negotiations with Alexander and Olympias may have been effective and the murder the work of others.

III

Whatever their part in Philip's death, certainly mother and son benefited by it. Olympias' political role expanded during her son's reign. After 336, Olympias regularly figured in political intrigue. Our sources recount, however, only her attempts to wield political influence with Alexander, but not necessarily her success. At least part of Olympias' greater prominence after Philip's death arises from the fact that Alexander did not marry until 327, and even then married only eastern princesses who produced no heir recognized in his lifetime⁴⁰. Once Alexander had gained the throne, his relations with Olympias were more complex because their aims though similar were no longer necessarily identical. Alexander's absence and the great distance which separated Olympias and her son may also have complicated their relationship.

Alexander began his reign with a more or less traditional purge of rival claimants to the throne. Tradition blames Alexander for the elimination of most of Cleopatra's family⁴¹, but attributes the killing of Cleopatra, Philip's bride, and Cleopatra's daughter to Olympias. Plutarch (*Alex.* 10.4) even says that Olympias' treatment of Cleopatra annoyed Alexander. In fact his step-mother and perhaps even his step-sister constituted a danger to Alexander⁴². The deaths of Cleopatra and her child are part of the general purge of the family of Attalus.

⁴⁰ On the marriage to Roxane, see BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 346. See P.A. BRUNT, *Alexander, Barsine, and Heracles*, *RFIC* 103 (1975), p. 22-34, for a discussion of the various texts which suggest that Alexander began a liaison with Barsine, daughter of Artabazus and had a son by her, Heracles, in 326. Heracles was put forward as claimant to the throne and later murdered. W.W. TARN, *op.cit.* (n. 20) II, p. 330 f., followed by HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 55, reject the story of the affair and consider the boy an imposter. P.A. BRUNT, *loc.cit.*, p. 34 and ERRINGTON, *Babylon*, p. 50, 74 accept the story as genuine but believe Alexander never recognized the boy.

⁴¹ Just. XI 5.1. W. HECKEL, *The Conspiracy Against Philotas*, *Phoenix* 31 (1977), p. 21, n. 51 and *Who was Heglochus*, *RhM* 125 (1982), p. 78-87, argues that a certain Heglochus, a relative of Cleopatra's, survived until supposedly involved in a conspiracy with Parmenion (Curt. VI 11.22-29). E. BADIAN, *The Death of Parmenio*, *TAPhA* 91 (1960), p. 332 and FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 133, n. 77 regard the story as fictitious. See *contra* K.J. BELOCH, *op.cit.* (n. 11) III², p. 70 and BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 185.

⁴² Just. IX 7.12; Paus. VIII 7.7; Plut., *Alex.* 10.4 Pausanias' lurid version is correctly rejected by BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 285, though GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 107; BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 285; MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 32; HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 57, n. 50, believe Plutarch's story about Alexander's irritation at Olympias' supposedly independent

Although Alexander departed for Asia in 334 and never saw his mother again, contact between mother and son continued. Alexander sent his mother and sister spoils from Asia and Olympias seems to have made a dedication at Delphi on his behalf (see below). Our sources preserve fragments of what would appear to have been a voluminous correspondence between Olympias and Alexander but these snippets of correspondence do not inspire confidence in their authenticity. At best, each letter must be considered on its individual merits⁴³: Granted the hostile tradition about Olympias, rejecting all «epistolary» information about her is not unreasonable.

The standard picture of the situation in Macedonia and Molossia after Alexander had left for Asia has been that Antipater acted as both

action if only because the incident damaged Alexander's reputation. HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 39, rightly doubts the story. Both MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 32 and BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*, p. 285, note that Olympias' actions parallel those of Alexander about the rest of the family of Attalus. *Contra* HECKEL, *Philip and Olympias*, p. 57, the death of Cleopatra and her child was not an «unnecessary act»: alive they constituted a continuing threat to Alexander's hold on the throne and might have been used as tools for several factions. Cleopatra could, after all, bear a child and call it Philip's. (On the unlikelyhood that Cleopatra had a second and male child see W. HECKEL, *loc.cit.* (n. 26), p. 385-393). Recently S.M. BURSTEIN, *The Tomb of Philip II and the Succession of Alexander the Great*, *EMC* 26 (1982), p. 19 ff., has argued that Olympias' actions embarrassed Alexander's cautious policy against the family of Attalus and that to disassociate himself from her actions he buried Cleopatra with his father in tomb II at Vergina. The identity of the occupants of this tomb is of course a matter of great controversy and the excavation is far from complete (see S.M. BURSTEIN, *loc.cit.*, for references and A.M. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO and B. TRIPODI, *Le tombe regali de Vergina: quale Filippo?*, *ASNP S.III* 10 (1980), p. 989-1001). Even if Philip and Cleopatra are buried in this tomb, it need not mean, as Burstein supposes, that Olympias had less influence with her son than is usually thought and that he tolerated no interference from her from the start. (See below for public matters in which Olympias did intervene or participate). If Alexander buried Cleopatra with his father, it would simply have been a matter of good public relations and may reveal nothing about his real feelings. Alexander may just as well have felt that Olympias had conveniently taken the burden of an unpleasant but necessary action on herself.

⁴³ This case by case principle was first articulated by G. DROYSEN, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* I 2.2, Gotha 1877, p. 399-405 and J. KAERST, *Der Briefwechsel Alexanders bei Plutarch*, in *Forschungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, Stuttgart 1887, p. 107-117. Whether to accept the letters quoted in the text of the historians is an old and difficult problem. See summary of discussion in J. SEIBERT, *Alexander der Grosse (Erträge der Forschung, 10)*, Darmstadt 1972, p. 4-5. W.W. TARN, *op.cit.* (n. 20) II, p. 301, believed that the possibility of forgery is much greater in private letters, like the exchange between Olympias and Alexander, and suggests a connection to the propaganda wars of Olympias and Cassander. Certainly nearly all the letters related to Olympias portray her in a negative fashion. No consensus exists on the dependability of individual letters. Consequently, I shall deal with letters, but consider all very suspect. Possibly the Olympias letters parallel the negative tradition found in stories related to Parmenion. See HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 89.

general in Europe and regent in Macedonia and that Olympias left Macedonia for Epirus (after prolonged struggles with Antipater) about the time of her brother's death and that very shortly thereafter she came to control her homeland⁴⁴. N.G.L. Hammond has recently challenged this interpretation of events. Hammond has argued that Olympias remained in Macedonia where she exercised «some official position» involving non-military and especially religious duties, a position he identifies as the «*prostasia*». Hammond believes that when in 324 Alexander decided to replace Antipater with Craterus, he also replaced his civilian representative, Olympias, with Cleopatra (Hammond argues that Cleopatra had remained as regent in Molossia until this moment)⁴⁵. Hammond's new suggestions have a salutary effect: the contradictory and unclear nature of much of the evidence for the political situation in his homeland during Alexander's absence is now obvious and the standard view, on its own, will no longer suffice. A review of the evidence is in order.

Despite Hammond's arguments, it is clear that Olympias resided in her homeland of Molossia for some time prior to 325, quite possibly from the period of her brother's death (winter 331/330). While Diodorus (xviii 49.4), in speaking of Olympias' situation in 319 makes only the vague statement that she had returned to Molossia some time earlier because of a quarrel with Antipater, Livy (viii 24.17) says that she was present when her brother's ashes were returned for burial⁴⁶. Pausanias

⁴⁴ K.J. BELOCH, *op.cit.* (n. 11) III.2, p. 146; BERVE, *Alexanderreich II*, p. 287; CROSS, *Epirus*, p. 43; STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 180; P.R. FRANKE, *Alt-Epirus u.d. Königtum d. Molosser*, Kallmunz 1955, p. 41-46; P. CHARNEUX, *Liste Argienne de Théarodoques*, *BCH* 90 (1966), p. 179; P. CABANES, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272-167)*, Paris 1976, p. 173, prefers a date of 325.

⁴⁵ HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 471-476 and more briefly in *Alexander*, p. 265, 321, n. 112. Hammond bases his argument, primarily, on the evidence of Arrian (*FGrHist* 156 F 1), *SEG* xxiii 189 (which shows Cleopatra as *thearodoch* for Epirus c. 330 B.C.) and his reading of the Plutarch passage (*Alex.* 68.3) which says that in a struggle with Antipater, Olympias took Epirus and Cleopatra Macedonia. Of course, this view appears to contradict another Plutarch passage (*Alex.* 39.7) which says that Alexander would not let his mother interfere in affairs or military matters. R. LANE FOX, *op.cit.* (n. 4), p. 91, 413, 513, earlier approached this view on the basis of *SEG* IX 2, a grain list from Cyrene which shows both Olympias and Cleopatra as recipients of grain. Lane Fox believes this demonstrates that Olympias was «queen regent» (whatever that may mean) of Macedonia and Cleopatra of Epirus. On *prostasia*, see n. 61.

⁴⁶ HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 474, attempts to discredit the Livy passage by claiming that it is sensational and perhaps Cleitarchan. Even if this were so, the information provided is not jeopardized. Hammond also argues that Hyperides (*Eux.* 20 ff.) pictures Olympias operating in Macedonia, but in fact Hyperides associates Olympias with the people of Macedonia, but not necessarily with the territory (see below, n. 49).

(111.3) remarks that she returned to Epirus after her brother's death. A speech of Hyperides (*Eux.* 25), dated c. 330, which has Olympias saying that Molossia belonged to her (see discussion below) might also be taken as confirmation that Olympias was already in Molossia.

On the other hand, a number of factors suggest that Cleopatra, who had presumably been regent since the departure of her husband on his fateful Italian campaign, continued to exercise this power for some time after the probable return of her mother to Epirus. Aeschines (III 242), c. 331, refers to an Athenian embassy sent to bear condolences to Cleopatra after her husband's death; such an embassy may indicate some sort of official role for Cleopatra, or it may simply mean that the Athenians considered such a gesture toward Alexander's sister politically appropriate. Grain was shipped from Cleopatra to Corinth c. 330 (Lyc. c. *Leocr.*). About 330 she appears as *thearodoch* for, apparently, the newly formed Epirote alliance (*SEG* xxiii 189)⁴⁷. Her name appears sixth on a list of recipients of grain from Cyrene, grain sent during a period of famine (*SEG* ix 2). The list is dated 330-326, but Cleopatra's position on the list would imply that she accepted this shipment early in the period, probably 330 or 329. Her name does not appear a second time. Thus as late as 330 or probably 329 Cleopatra had some sort of political control and public status in Molossia.

As I have argued, Olympias very likely left Macedonia late in 331 or early 330. Her political role in either Molossia or Macedonia in the remaining years of her son's reign is unclear. That Olympias had some sort of quasi-public position in either or both kingdoms seems undeniable, despite the fact that, as we have seen, there was no precedent in Macedonia. In 333 she had made offerings in Athens to the goddess

⁴⁷ See HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 472, n. 46, for full references to the inscription. Hammond concludes that the inscription provides evidence that the Epirote alliance was formed by this date (i.e. after 331) and that this formation was a sign of Molossian weakness since he believes that Alexander and Antipater were probably weakening the Molossians and Chaonians by the new formation. P. CABANES, *op.cit.* (n. 44), p. 177-181, however, considers the transformation a sign of Molossian strength and even considers that it may have been accomplished while Alexander of Epirus was still alive. See P. CABANES, *Société et institutions dans les monarchies de Grèce septentrionale au IV^e siècle*, *REG* 113 (1980), p. 324-351, for a discussion of the unusual social and legal role played by Epirote women in terms of property ownership and alienation. Cabanes notes that they could function as heads of family, apparently either through inheritance from their father or dead husband, or at least were able to act as deputies until their sons were of age. Possibly this situation has application to the royal women of Epirus and explains Cleopatra's role and her mother's unprecedented attempts in Macedonia.

Hygeia (Hyp., *Eux.* 19) and in 331/330 she made splendid dedications at Delphi, apparently taken from her son's booty (*SIG* 1³ 252 N5ff.)⁴⁸. Both these actions may, nonetheless, merely demonstrate that Olympias was a pious and generous member of the royal family.

Other evidence, however, implies that she was more. As we have seen, Hyperides' speech (*Eux.* 25) contains her statement that Molossia belongs to her. Earlier in the same speech (19-20) Hyperides imagines that Olympias and Alexander will bring accusations against certain Athenians and he also associates Olympias and the Macedonians⁴⁹. *SEG* IX 2 (which lists those who received grain from Cyrene during a time of shortage) names Olympias as well as Cleopatra as a recipient of grain. Cleopatra appears only once whereas Olympias is named twice. All other recipients on the list are states, but Olympias and her daughter are referred to only by their personal names; thus the list does not reveal for the sake of which country either mother or daughter received the grain. The fact that Olympias and Cleopatra, though individuals and women, appear on this list is very strong evidence that they in some sense functioned as heads of state⁵⁰.

But as heads of which state? The last years of Alexander's reign provide further information. When Alexander's treasurer Harpalus bolted to Athens, bearing with him considerable funds, not only Philoxenus and Antipater demanded his extradition, but, according to Diodorus (xvii 108.7), Olympias as well. There is the puzzling passage in Plutarch

⁴⁸ Plutarch (*Alex.* 25.4) says Alexander sent booty to Olympias and Cleopatra. See also BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 287. On the Delphic dedications, see B. KEIL, *loc.cit.* (n. 8), p. 511-529, who provides the date of late 331, early 330.

⁴⁹ HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 474, believes that Hyperides' quotation of Olympias, «... ἡ χώρα εἴη ἡ Μολοττία αὐτῆς ...» means only that she was a native Molossian, not that she in some sense ruled the land. This reading is unconvincing since Olympias is telling the Athenians to keep their hands off the temple rather than telling them to go sacrifice at their own shrines. Hyperides' coupling of the names of Olympias and Alexander («... μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὀνόματι καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ...» *Eux.* 19) and of Olympias and the Macedonians («... ἐνθάδε δὲ μισεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπολέσαι Εὐξένην πον καὶ φησὶ κόλακα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐκείνης καὶ Μακεδόνων ...» *Eux.* 20-21) is interesting, but does not tell us either where Olympias was or what her formal position was. Mother and son worked in concert, granted the absence of the son in the east, but without any well-defined formal arrangement. Similarly, that Hyperides imagines someone flattering both Olympias and the Macedonians tells us that he associates the two, but does not tell us the basis of the association.

⁵⁰ P. CHARNEUX, *loc.cit.* (n. 44), p. 178. HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 474. The obvious parallels are the names «Perdiccas» and «Tharyps» appearing on an earlier list of a similar sort (*IG* IV² 95): see HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 473 and P. CABANES, *op.cit.* (n. 44), p. 166 ff.

(*Alex.* 68.3) in which we are told that in the troubled later years of Alexander's reign (c. 325/4 seems to be implied) Olympias and Cleopatra formed a faction against Antipater and shared Alexander's «ἀρχή», Cleopatra taking Macedonia and Olympias Epirus. Alexander supposedly approved his mother's choice, saying that the Macedonians could not bear to be ruled by a woman. This passage has not often been taken seriously, but Hammond is right to deduce that it reflects more truth than is generally credited, though not, perhaps, the particular truth he discovers⁵¹.

I suggest the following reconstruction. About the time of her brother's death, Olympias took herself to Molossia, not only because of her quarrels with and fears of Antipater (Diod. xviii 49.4; Paus. i 11.3; see discussion below), but also because she saw a chance for independent power beyond the reach of Antipater⁵². Once home in Molossia she gradually came to share power with her daughter and finally came to dominate the kingdom. Whether she or her daughter had any official title remains unclear. There is absolutely no evidence for any conflict between Olympias and Cleopatra. Instead, the Plutarch passage offers evidence for common action on their part⁵³.

⁵¹ HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 473-476 pictures the following scenario: Craterus to replace Antipater; Cleopatra to replace Olympias; in Molossia, Olympias to replace her grandson Neoptolemus with Aecides (see below for arguments against this view); Cleopatra asks Leonnatus to marry her. Hammond believes (following MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 34) that Olympias was to be consoled by the divine honors Curtius mentions (IX 6.26; X 5.30) and Antipater by the «honor» of bringing reinforcements (an honor shared by a number of Macedonian officers at various times and places and not a plausible consolation prize).

⁵² BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 28; MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 33; HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 105, think Olympias retired to Molossia out of humiliation and Berve, Macurdy and STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 179, primarily on the basis of Plut., *Alex.* 39.7, believe that Alexander scolded Olympias for interfering. Even if the passage merits belief, it does not assume some sort of public humiliation which would drive Olympias to leave. Arrian's account (VII 12.6) of a supposed witticism of Alexander's in which he complains that Olympias was exacting a heavy price for housing him for ten months deserves even less credit. GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 458 may well be right to judge that she left because of her struggle with Antipater (see below), but Cross' suggestion (*Epirus*, p. 48) that she may have wished to escape Antipater's direct control is persuasive. Certainly Olympias gained by the move.

⁵³ BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 287; STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 180; P.R. FRANKE, *op.cit.* (n. 44), p. 42; HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 190, all assume that mother and daughter quarreled and that this quarrel was the cause of Cleopatra's departure. Their assumption, unproved, is that no one could get along with Olympias. Plutarch (*Alex.* 68.3) and subsequent events suggest concerted action on the part of mother and daughter. F. REUSS, *König Arybbas von Epeiros*, *RhM* 36 (1881), p. 168; C. KLOTZSCH, *op.cit.* (n. 31), p. 88; and MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 34, think there was no quarrel. Macurdy, while granting the possibility

Our sources preserve references to various attacks against figures at court launched by Olympias. Apparently they were waged via letters to Alexander. As we have seen, all such epistolary «fragments» are dubious in the extreme. It is probably significant that all of them tend to discredit Olympias or show her in an unfavorable light. Despite the great likelihood that virtually all are fiction, I shall consider these attacks briefly.

Diodorus (xvii 114.3) says that when Olympias criticized Hephaestion in her letters to Alexander, Hephaestion dared to write back and scold her. Plutarch (*Alex.* 39.5; *Mor.* 180d;333a;340a) claims that Alexander let Hephaestion read one of her letters though he usually kept them secret. Curtius' account of the trial of the sons of Andromenes (vii 1.36-40) mentions some sort of accusation, supposedly a contributory factor in the trial, which Olympias had lodged. (His family's association with Philotas was the other contributing factor.) Amyntas was, of course, acquitted. Diodorus (xvii 32.1-2) attributes the arrest of Lyncestian Alexander to Olympias' warnings about him, but Arrian (125.1-10) tells a different story.

Even if, for the sake of argument, one credits these anecdotes, Olympias' motivation is not very clear. Plutarch blames her troubles with Hephaestion on personal jealousy. After all, Craterus (Plut., *Alex.* 47.5-7) and Eumenes (Plut., *Eum.* 2.1-2,4-5) also envied him, though presumably not because of personal but professional jealousy. Curtius has Amyntas claim that Olympias resented his attempt to take military recruits from the young men of her household, but, it is equally possible that she disliked him for his connection to Parmenion's family. Diodorus simply states that Olympias warned Alexander that Lyncestian Alexander was dangerous and should be watched. Plutarch (*Alex.* 39.5) quotes a supposed letter from Olympias which warns Alexander against the amount of wealth and presumably power he supposedly was distri-

of some friction between mother and daughter, plausibly suggests that Cleopatra may have been sent by Olympias to watch and/or trouble Antipater.

HAMMOND, *op.cit.* (n. 16), p. 558, once suggested some sort of dual regency in Molossia, shared by mother and daughter; his suggestion is based primarily on SEG IX 2, the inscription which shows both as recipients of grain. This suggestion is not implausible. Possibly the situation in Macedonia in 340 is relevant to the situation in either or both Macedonia and Molossia after 331. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 9.1), Philip left Alexander as regent, *kurios*, in 340, when he conducted the expedition against Byzantium, but Antipater may also have acted as advisor. So Isoc., *Ep.* 4, *contra P. Ryl.* I 1.19 (*FGrHist* 115 F 217) and Polyæn. 4.41. See ELLIS, *Philip*, p. 289, n. 9. The same blurring of the lines of authority seems to have occurred on both occasions.

buting to his friends. If the letter is genuine, and not a homily on liberality, then Olympias' concern would appear to be to maintain the power of her son. In some sense all the men she is supposed to have accused did prove to be dangers to the stability of her son's rule⁵⁴.

The best known of Olympias' quarrels was a life-long feud with Antipater. Supposedly the two combatants waged war by means of mutually accusatory letters sent to Alexander (Arr. vii 12.5-7; Diod. xvii 118.1; Just. xii 14.3; Plut., *Alex.* 39.7; Plut., *Mor.* 180d). Both Diodorus (xvii 118.1) and Arrian (vii 12.5-7) believe that Alexander's decision to remove Antipater as general of Europe and regent came, in part, as the result of Olympias' many accusations against him. But accusations of what? What and when was the origin of this famous quarrel? There is even the possibility that the whole business is a fabrication of Cassander and reads back into the period before Alexander's death tensions that only developed after it. It seems very likely that Olympias wanted some part of Antipater's power. Her attempt to extradite Harpalus (Diod. xvii 108.7), as well as other factors, suggests this⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ See HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 104, for a discussion of the authenticity of the letter. Diodorus' account of the arrest of Lyncestian Alexander has often been rejected in favor of Arrian's (e.g. HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 88) but see A.B. BOSWORTH, *op.cit.* (n. 9) I, p. 164, for the possibility that Olympias acted out of hostility to Antipater, the Lyncestian's father-in-law, and see E. CARNEY, *Alexander the Lyncestian: the Disloyal Opposition*, GRBS 21 (1980), p. 30-32, who thinks both authors may have been correct. As to Amyntas' acquittal, BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 286 is not necessarily correct in saying that it demonstrates how little effect Olympias' charges (if Diodorus' story is true) had; many factors may have caused his acquittal, including Alexander's desire to be conciliatory.

⁵⁵ So MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 310. BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 285 guessed that the origin of her hostility was Antipater's friendship with the husband she hated. Arrian's account (VII 12.5-7), if dependable, sounds like a power struggle: each accuses the other of arrogance and going beyond his/her position. A power struggle need not mean that Olympias wanted the regency but that Olympias felt that Antipater was taking more than his office called for. On Olympias' role in the fall of Antipater: BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 286, thinks she had at most a secondary effect; A.B. BOSWORTH, *The Death of Alexander the Great: Rumour and Propaganda*, CQ 21 (1971), p. 126 and HAMILTON, *Plutarch*, p. 105, reject the idea of Olympias' influence; GREEN, *Alexander*, p. 458, finds it plausible. Plutarch, *Alex.* 39.7 would seem to imply that in fact it was Antipater's criticism of Olympias which had the negative effect. It would be foolish to underestimate Olympias' influence on Alexander, particularly granted that we know so little about the reasons for her complaints against Antipater. If we do not assume *a priori* that her accusations were based on personal jealousy alone, then the assertions of Arrian and Diodorus are believable. There is the possibility that the whole business of the feud is a fabrication, the creation of Cassander, and reads back the tensions after Alexander's death into the period before, but this seems unlikely.

How much power or influence Alexander formally allotted to Olympias initially and how much she simply took, whether or not Alexander tacitly or officially approved it after the fact, we cannot now determine. The political situation in the two mountain kingdoms from 334 to 323 was anything but tidy; as long as no adult male member of the royal family was present, it could not be otherwise⁵⁶. In this very fluid situation, Olympias and Cleopatra attempted to capitalize upon their royal blood — a now rare commodity and one Antipater did not possess — and did so with considerable success. Their lack of official title mattered less in the absence of any title-holder.

IV

For Olympias, as for all the other Successors of Alexander, the whole political world changed with his death. In the confusion after Alexander's death in 323, Antipater rapidly became the kingpin in power politics and Antipater was or became Olympias' bitter enemy. Her son's death transformed her old quarrel with Antipater into a vendetta against his whole family because Olympias believed that Antipater and his sons Cassander and Iollas had engineered Alexander's murder (Diod. xix 11.8-9; Plut., *Alex.* 77.1-3)⁵⁷.

As long as Alexander had lived, Olympias needed no physical protec-

⁵⁶ HAMMOND, *Alexander*, p. 16, notes that the ordinarily powerless royal women of Macedonia might «become influential in court intrigue and matters of the succession to the throne, especially when they were queen mothers or queen grandmothers; this happened particularly when the heir was an infant». Not only does this tendency explain the role of Cleopatra and Olympias in Molossia, but it is also suggestive for Macedonia in the same period. There was a king, of course, but he had been gone for an unprecedented length of time and did not seem to be planning to return. CROSS, *Epirus*, p. 42, thinks that Olympias acquired power in Molossia partly because of her royal blood and partly because Macedonian power made the return of the obvious heirs (Arrybas' line) unacceptable. This would be true even if the Molossian alliance (see HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 472 ff.) was outside of Antipater's direct rule. FEARS, *Assassin*, p. 128, notes that Olympias as regent merely reinstated the Macedonian/Molossian alliance her marriage had originated.

⁵⁷ Stories about the poisoning of Alexander by Antipater's family were common (Arr. VII 27.1-2; Diod. XVII 118.1; Curt. X 10.14-19). While it is probably true that Olympias was behind these stories it is unlikely that she did not believe them (so BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 287): nothing would have been easier than to blame her misfortune on her worst enemy. As to the truth of the story, see A.B. BOSWORTH, *loc.cit.* (n. 55), *passim*, for a view that he was poisoned, D. ENGELS, *A Note on Alexander's Death*, *CPh* 73 (1978), p. 224 ff. *contra*.

tion; her son's life was protection enough. Now her survival required a protector with troops and the ability to lead them. Judging by her subsequent actions, Olympias wished to use such a protector to entrench herself in Macedonia and to secure the succession to the posthumous child of Alexander, Alexander IV. Self-interest was probably not her only motivation. By ancient standards Olympias, now probably in her fifties, was an old lady and could not have expected to live long.

Olympias the dynastic politician looked in two directions for military support: to a possible husband for her widowed daughter Cleopatra and to a member of her own Molossian clan. Very soon after the news of Alexander's death could have reached her, Cleopatra wrote Leonnatus (Plut., *Eum.* 3.5), almost certainly at the instigation of Olympias, proposing a marriage alliance⁵⁸. Foiled in this plan by the death of the intended groom, Olympias looked elsewhere. The collateral branch of the Molossian royal family returned from exile. Aecides, son of Arybbas, took control of the Molossians in name, but in fact he seems himself to have been in the control of Olympias (Paus. 11.3); very likely she summoned him⁵⁹. Aecides would prove a faithful though not very successful protector. The search for a husband for Cleopatra continued. Olympias sent Cleopatra to Sardis in an attempt to stymie the projected marriage of the regent Perdiccas to one of Antipater's daughters (*FGrHist* 156 F9, 21-26). According to Diodorus (xviii 23.1-4, 25.3-4), Perdiccas, desirous of the monarchy, longed to marry Cleopatra but dared not offend Antipater; he put Cleopatra off with the promise of later marriage. This bridegroom, too, was killed and Cleopatra was held captive in Sardis, no longer a possible instrument in her mother's plans⁶⁰. Antipater replaced Perdiccas as regent (Diod. xviii 39.1-4) and Olympias could do nothing.

⁵⁸ While Plutarch says only that Cleopatra wrote Leonnatus, it is usually assumed because of Cleopatra's second attempted marriage alliance (see below, n. 60) that Olympias was the real mover in the first as well (MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 36; ERRINGTON, *Babylon*, p. 60).

⁵⁹ *Contra* CROSS, *Epirus*, p. 43-44 and MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 38, who believe Antipater brought him in. HAMMOND, *op.cit.* (n. 16), p. 561, more plausibly argues that Olympias and Aecides worked together and that, therefore, she probably called him in. His subsequent behavior would make no sense had he been Antipater's creature. His father, Arybbas, may have been long dead. For this view see R.M. ERRINGTON, *loc.cit.* (n. 22), p. 44 ff. *Contra*, F. REUSS, *loc.cit.* (n. 53), p. 171; K.J. BELOCH, *op.cit.* (n. 11) IV² 2, p. 146; C. KLOTZSCH, *op.cit.* (n. 31), p. 95 f.; HAMMOND, *op.cit.* (n. 16), p. 559, who identify the Aryptaeus active in the Lamian war (Diod. XVIII 11.1) as Arybbas. In any event, Arybbas either never returned to reign himself or ruled only briefly.

⁶⁰ MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 36 ff. assumed that Olympias' purpose in the marriage alliance was to secure Macedonia for herself via Cleopatra, whereas ERRINGTON, *Babylon*, p. 60,

Her opportunity came with Antipater's death in 319 and his replacement as regent by Polyperchon (Diod. xviii 48.4). Polyperchon asked Olympias to return to Macedonia to care for her grandson and to have «τὴν βασιλικὴν ... προστασίαν» (Diod. xviii 49.4). Polyperchon renewed his request as the strength of Cassander's resistance to him grew (xviii 57.2). Whatever may have been signified by this offer of «royal *prostasia*»⁶¹, Olympias, contrary to her reputation for rashness, continued the policy of caution she had pursued since her son's death. She wrote to Eumenes, asking him whether she should stay where she was and put no faith in supposed guardians of the king, men who actually wanted the kingdoms for themselves, or whether she should return to Macedonia. Eumenes, apparently the only one she trusted⁶², advised

believes that both alliances arose from her desire to counter Antipater. Both of these views may be correct, but her need for military support for what remained of the dynasty would have been primary. See J. SEIBERT, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 10), Wiesbaden 1967, p. 19 ff., for a discussion of Cleopatra's suitors and the idea, on the basis of Diod. XX 37.4 that marriage to Cleopatra was always seen as an attempt at universal power, even if not so intended. ERRINGTON, *Babylon*, p. 62 ff. suggests that Eumenes had something to do with both proposed marriages and that Perdiccas did not really intend to jilt Nicaea, Antipater's daughter, for the sake of Cleopatra, despite Antigonus' claims.

⁶¹ See G.H. MACURDY, *Roxane and Alexander IV in Epirus*, *JHS* 52 (1932), p. 256-261, for view that Olympias did not, *contra* CROSS, *Epirus*, p. 45, shelter Roxane and her son in Epirus, either after the death of Antipater or at Polyperchon's request. The meaning of *prostasia* is a much vexed question; see discussion and references in ERRINGTON, *Babylon*, p. 55-56, who concludes it was, when first given to Craterus, meant to be a position of honor rather than power. «Βασιλική προστασία» is even more confusing. In reference to Olympias, Diod. XVIII 65.1 may offer some explanation, if not for the meaning of the term in general. Nicanor, says Diodorus, has heard what Polyperchon had offered, and then provides what I assume to be a paraphrase or explanation of Olympias' *prostasia* «τοῦ τε παιδίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνη παραδίδοναι καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαι ἀποδοχὴν καὶ τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζώντος ἀποκαθιστάναι Ὀλυμπιάδι...» *Timé* and *apodoché* certainly sound like honors not powers. Of course HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 475-476 (see n. 45) believes that the position Olympias held during Alexander's lifetime was the *prostasia* later offered her by Polyperchon. As ERRINGTON, *Ibid.*, p. 55, n. 48, notes, there is no evidence for Macedonian *prostasia* before Craterus' in 323. If Errington is correct in surmising (p. 56) that it was an «artificial position... to produce enthusiasm by propaganda... It was never defined...» then Olympias' *prostasia* was meant by Polyperchon to give her as little power as possible and intended by Olympias to be used to acquire as much as possible.

⁶² MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 45, notes their friendship. The best known example of Eumenes' loyalty to Olympias, as well as to the royal family in general, is his addition to the oath Antigonus wished him to swear to himself and the kings: Eumenes put Olympias' name in front of those of the kings (Plut., *Eum.* 12.2). Plutarch (*Eum.* 13.1) seems to add to the story in Diodorus: Olympias asked Eumenes to come to take charge of Alexander IV. Olympias also helped Eumenes. Diodorus (XVIII 62.2) explains that she and Polyperchon and the kings wrote letters supporting him when Ptolemy tried to turn the Macedonian troops against him.

still more caution: she must wait until battle decided the struggle between Cassander and Polyperchon (Diod. xviii 58.4). At first all seemed to go well for Olympias and Polyperchon; even Nicanor, brother of Cassander, temporized rather than turn down Olympias outright when she asked him to give Munychia back to her friends the Athenians (Diod. xviii 65.1-2)⁶³. But then Polyperchon was defeated in the Peloponnese, the Athenians moved toward Cassander, and Nicanor began to campaign in Macedonia (Diod. xviii 74.1-3).

Almost certainly the decision of Olympias' rival Eurydice (now acting for her husband Philip Arrhidaeus) to replace Polyperchon with Cassander (Just. xiv 5.1-4) triggered Olympias' return to Macedonia. Caution no longer made sense. If she were ever to regain her position in Macedonia and establish her grandson on the throne, Cassander and Eurydice had to be defeated. Aecides and Polyperchon moved against Eurydice. When Eurydice's Macedonian troops saw Olympias, they went over to her side (Diod. xix 11.1-3; Just. xiv 5.8-10)⁶⁴. Olympias maltreated Philip Arrhidaeus and Eurydice and ultimately had them killed, as well as Cassander's brother Nicanor, and one hundred of his supporters. She even disturbed the tomb of Iollas. According to Diodorus (xix 11.4-9), these acts of brutality caused many Macedonians to hate her. Subsequent events in Diodorus' own narrative demonstrate, however, that Olympias lost only *some* of her support in Macedonia.

Cassander turned north to avenge Olympias' actions and besieged Olympias and her remaining family at Pydna (Diod. xix 35.1-7; Just. xiv 6.1-4). Once more Aecides tried to come to her aid, but many of his men refused to go and in his absence the Epirotes exiled him and allied with Cassander (Diod. xix 36.1-5). Olympias' allies reluctantly went over to Cassander and Polyperchon's army betrayed him (Diod. xix 36.5-6).

⁶³ W. HECKEL, *loc.cit.* (n. 9), p. 81, n. 11, notes the goodwill of the Athenian *demos* toward Olympias, putting it in the context of Athenian friendship with other members of her family.

⁶⁴ Duris (*ap.* Athen. XIII 560 f) claims that Olympias went into battle as a maenad to the beat of a Dionysiac drum, while Eurydice wore armor for the occasion. The first story is not particularly likely though Polyaeus 8.60 does say that Eurydice's mother once went into battle and the Duris passage asserts that Eurydice's mother trained her. MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 40, ascribes Olympias' move into Macedonia to personal jealousy of Eurydice and of her control of Macedonia. Doubtless Olympias was jealous of Eurydice, but Olympias had for years been jealous of Antipater and then Cassander, yet kept her place in Molossia. More important would be her fear that the family of Antipater would rule Macedonia if she did not act; in a sense she had nothing left to risk but her life (Alexander IV was clearly doomed if she failed to act).

Although Olympias did not know it, her great friend Eumenes was dead (Diod. XIX 44.1-2). Olympias sustained the siege throughout the winter, but in the spring she released her troops and was captured attempting to escape (Diod. XIX 49-50; Just. XIV 6.5).

Cassander now moved to eliminate Olympias, but, Diodorus' narrative suggests, with more caution than one might expect, granted that all her powerful supporters were gone. He had the assembly condemn her, but did not dare to bring her in front of it. Apparently still fearful that the assembly might fail to execute her, Cassander arranged an escape attempt for Olympias during which he meant her to die. But Olympias refused the offer of escape and insisted that she appear before the assembly. Cassander still did not dare to allow her to appear, but instead sent two hundred soldiers to kill her. Once in the presence of the mother of Alexander, they balked. In the end, Cassander sent the relatives of her enemies to kill her and Olympias died with bravery and composure. Cassander refused her burial (Diod. XIX 51.3-6; Just. XIV 6.6-13), but she later acquired a tomb (see n.8). While some may have hated Olympias, others stayed loyal to her even after her death. Cassander's treatment of her execution is revealing: he knew that in killing Olympias he was taking a risk and, as we have seen, her death was not easily accomplished⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ Too often, the account in Diodorus — presumably based on the relatively trustworthy Hieronymus — of events from the time of Olympias' invasion through her death is not read carefully and the assumption is made that Olympias was generally hated in Macedonia. The narrative suggests that this was not the case: a number of details point to the fact that one faction hated her and another faction did not. There is the remarkable fact that the Macedonian troops went over to her because of her connection to Alexander and because of her «ἀξίωμα» (rank, position), abandoning Eurydice, the granddaughter of Philip and daughter of Amyntas, who had tried to keep the Macedonians favorable to her by bribery and presents (Diod. XIX 11.1). Even after Olympias' brutal elimination of Philip Arrhidaeus, Eurydice, Nicanor, and a hundred members of the Cassander faction, Diodorus' narrative still indicates support for Olympias. Cassander clearly feared to bring her in front of the assembly and the refusal of the men he sent to kill her to do so is particularly striking. Twice more Diodorus (XIX 51.4,5) refers to her «ἀξίωμα» as a factor in continuing support for her. Even after her death, Cassander, says Diodorus, feared to kill Alexander IV and his mother because he feared the reaction of «the many» to the death of Olympias (Diod. XIX 52.4). In 315 Antigonos got a very positive response from Macedonian troops when he assailed Cassander for killing Olympias and imprisoning young Alexander and his mother (Diod. XIX 61.1-3). E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)* I, Nancy 1979, p. 52, rightly points out that there are difficulties with the order of legal proceedings against Olympias.

V

Macurdy noted that Olympias failed in all her contentions with men — unless she did indeed have a hand in her husband's death⁶⁶ — and this verdict is on the whole a fair one. On the other hand, granted that Olympias was the first royal Macedonian woman to attempt to acquire real political power, she succeeded if only by remaining a serious contender for power until she died. She obtained something like royal power in Molossia and had barely grasped it in Macedonia when it was taken from her. Her career illustrates how impossible it was for a woman to attain independent power in Macedonian society. Her lack of effective military support was decisive. That Olympias got as far as she did yet lost as often as she did may also testify to her curious character, but her career demonstrates more than the strengths and weaknesses of her own personality. It also reflects the changing nature of Macedonian kingship. Prior to Philip, Macedonian kingship had been weak, the king only a little distinguished from the rest of the aristocracy and often the victim of violence by either marauding barbarism or aristocratic cabals. Philip built a more centralized state as well as the successful war machine his son used to conquer the Persian Empire. Philip and Alexander were moving in the direction of more absolute monarchy, a monarchy influenced by eastern models. Philip's innovations may have precipitated his assassination and throughout his reign Alexander struggled with aristocratic resistance to his innovations. Inevitably these changes in the nature of Macedonian monarchy affected Olympias and in some degree other Macedonian women⁶⁷.

As the royal family became more powerful and separate from the rest of Macedonian society, so did all its members, women as well as men. Deification and divine sonship touched royal women too⁶⁸. In more

⁶⁶ MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ The careers of two other strong-minded royal Macedonian women, Cynna, daughter of Philip (see BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 229; MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 48 ff.) and Adea/Eurydice, her daughter (see BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 12-13; MACURDY, *Ibid.*) suggest that something more than Olympias' special situation was involved. Cynna's determination to have her daughter marry Philip Arrhidaeus cost her her life, but, so great was the fury of the army at her death, that the marriage was necessary (*FGrHist* 156 F9 22-24).

⁶⁸ Curtius (IX 6.26; X 5.30) says Alexander intended to deify his mother upon her death. BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 286; MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 34; A. MOMIGLIANO, *Filippo il Macedone*, Florence 1934, p. 174; HAMMOND, *Passages*, p. 475, accept this statement as genuine, but STRASBURGER, *Olympias*, col. 179, argues against it. Macurdy and Hammond believe that Alexander made this offer as compensation for political power he denied her (see n. 51). There is no way of knowing what Olympias' attitude toward Alexander's divine sonship might have been. Plut., *Alex.* 3.2 preserves a mixed tradition and Plut., *Alex.* 27.5

pragmatic terms, the scarcity of male Argeads, particularly after the death of Alexander, necessarily increased the importance of women of the blood of Philip and Alexander. This phenomenon is observable in many ways: the number of Successors wanting to marry Alexander's full sister Cleopatra, thereby bringing quasi-legitimacy to any would-be ruler of Macedonia or even Alexander's empire; the careers of Cynna and her daughter Eurydice; Olympias' long survival. The aura of royalty — the «ἀξίωμα» which Diodorus so frequently attributes to Olympias — and particularly the connection to Philip and Alexander — gave these women new prestige and new potential for power. In the death throes of the Argead house, they possessed the now rare royal blood, even if it did run in female veins. In practice, rather than furnishing these women with any long-term, positive power of their own, their royal blood had a negative effect: all of the Successors wanted to prevent each other from acquiring through these women some claim to legitimacy, so their deaths were universally convenient⁶⁹. After the murder of Olympias, Cassander was quick to marry Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip (Diod. xix 52.1), but she, Olympias, and the rest were, like Olympias' old ally Eumenes, doomed because they were by definition outsiders⁷⁰.

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suggests that she would be sympathetic. Naturally, this letter need not be genuine. There is no obvious reason why Alexander's claim would not have appealed to Olympias.

⁶⁹ R.M. ERRINGTON, *Alexander in the Hellenistic World*, in *Alexandre le Grand: Image et Réalité (Fondations Hardt Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, 22)*, Genève 1975, p. 145-152 denies much importance to a blood relationship to either Alexander or Philip, and suggests that a connection to Philip mattered more than one to Alexander. His observations are useful because they emphasize how powerless royal women were and the common interests of the Successors in preventing others from using them as tools, but numerous incidents in the career of Olympias and the others do confirm that their connections did matter, just not enough to save their lives. On the matter of Cassander's marriage to Thessalonice, MACURDY, *HQ*, p. 45, suggests that Cassander considered himself royal after the marriage, though he did not yet take the title. PRESTIANNI GIALLOMBARDO, «*Diritto*», p. 70, is more correct when she says that the marriage represented dynastic continuity. J.P. VERNANT, *loc.cit.* (n. 13), p. 70 f., observes that in some ways a woman could symbolize the powers of her husband's house, e.g. Penelope.

⁷⁰ This article was completed in 1983. Since that date the following relevant work has appeared: N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Some Macedonian Offices c. 336-309 B.C.*, *JHS* 105 (1985), p. 156-160; S.B. POMEROY, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, New York 1984, p. 3-11; W. HECKEL, *Kynnane the Illyrian*, *RSA* 13-14 (1983-1984), p. 193-200; M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *A Reconsideration of the Pixodarus Affair*, in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times (Studies in the History of Art, 10)*, Washington DC 1982, p. 59-66; V. FRENCH and P. DIXON, *The Pixodarus Affair: Another View*, *Ancient World* 13 (1986), p. 73-82; E.D. CARNEY, *The Career of Adeia-Eurydice*, forthcoming in *Historia*; W.S. GREENWALT, *Polygamy and the Argead Succession*, forthcoming in *Arethusa*.

PTOLEMY SON OF THRASEAS AND THE FIFTH SYRIAN WAR*

The date of the opening of the Fifth Syrian War is still debated. M. Holleaux saw the outbreak of the war as a direct result of the secret pact between Antiochus III and Philip V to divide the spoils of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Since the secret pact is dated to 203/2 B.C. Holleaux assigned the attack of Antiochus III on Coele-Syria to the spring and summer of 202¹. Holleaux's view in this matter, as in many others, has received widespread support². B. Niese, relying on the fact that Antiochus' attack is narrated in Book 16 of Polybius, had fixed the beginning of the war in 201³. This difference aside, both these scholars are in agreement about the chronology of the three main phases that comprise the Fifth Syrian War. In the first phase of the war Antiochus III managed to conquer most of the Ptolemaic province. The stiff resistance of the people of Gaza (Polyb. xvi 22a) checked Antiochus' advance; he managed to conquer Gaza towards the autumn of 201. Next came the second phase which was marked by a successful Ptolemaic counter-attack led by Scopas the Aetolian. Scopas re-conquered most of the Ptolemaic province of Syria and Phoenicia but the battle of Panium in the summer of 200 ended with a decisive victory for the Seleucid king. The final stage of the war was marked by the Ptolemaic forces choosing to defend themselves not in the open field but from walled cities and fortresses. The remainder of Scopas' army was laid under siege in Sidon and was forced to capitulate by the summer of 199. Earlier the same fate befell the Ptolemaic garrison in Jerusalem. Other pockets of resistance were eliminated in the summer of 198⁴.

* I am very grateful to Fergus Millar and Peter Fraser for their comments.

¹ *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III: *Lagides et Séleucides*, Paris 1942, p. 319-320. On the pact between Antiochus III and Philip V see D. MAGIE, *JRS* 29 (1939), p. 32-44; H.H. SCHMITT, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 237-261; R.M. ERRINGTON, *Athenaeum* N.S. 49 (1971), p. 336-354.

² H.H. SCHMITT, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 236; F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* II, Oxford 1967, p. 472-473, 523; J. BRISCOE, *A Commentary on Livy, Books XXXI-XXXIII*, Oxford 1973, p. 38.

³ *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* II, Gotha 1899, p. 578. Followed by V. TCHERIKOVER, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (trans. S. APPLEBAUM), Philadelphia 1959, p. 75.

⁴ M. HOLLEAUX, *op.cit.* (n. 1) III, p. 317-331; B. NIESE, *op.cit.* (n. 3) II, p. 578-580. Some

Let us now turn to the second phase of this war and the Ptolemaic achievements in the course of Scopas' counter-attack. For during the Ptolemaic onslaught Scopas re-conquered Judea⁵. We are told by Jerome that in the course of the war the Jews were divided among themselves. Some supported the Ptolemaic cause, while others were supporters of Antiochus III. Thus when Jerome writes: *missus Scopas Aetholus dux Ptolemaei partium adversus Antiochum fortiter dimicavit, cepitque Iudaeam et optimates Ptolemaei partium secum abducens in Aegyptum reversus est* (*In Daniele* 11.14 = *FGrHist* 260 F 45), it is understood by all that the *optimates* mentioned are the aristocracy of Judea. Bevan accepted the above quoted text without qualifications⁶, but it is clear that Jerome's statement must be erroneous. Scopas would not have taken with him to Egypt the very people who would serve his aims best by remaining in their homeland. For having retaken Judea he could use these staunch supporters of his king to rally support for the Ptolemaic cause among the Jewish population as a whole⁷. E. Taeubler has offered an explanation which seems to solve these difficulties. The appropriate time for the evacuation of the leaders of the Ptolemaic faction in Judea came only after the battle of Panium. The *optimates* needed a refuge and the least the Ptolemaic kingdom could do was to offer one. However, after Panium Scopas was not in a position to evacuate anyone. He retreated from Panium to Sidon where he was besieged by the Seleucid army. Scopas was forced to capitulate and, along with some of his associates, was granted free passage, presumably back to Egypt⁸. Taeubler suggests that the Jewish *optimates* were escorted to safety by other Ptolemaic commanders, when retreating from the Seleucid onslaught⁹.

Taeubler's suggestion requires us to believe that Jerome has transferred by mistake an event that had occurred during the Seleucid onslaught after Panium to the period of Scopas' counter-attack before Panium. Moreover, according to Taeubler, Jerome has assigned Scopas

scholars have dated the battle of Panium to 198, e.g. G. DE SANCTIS, *Storia dei Romani* IV 1, Torino 1923, p. 118 n. 8. But see F.W. WALBANK, *op.cit.* (n. 2) II, p. 523.

⁵ Jos., *AJ* XII 131; Polyb. XVI 39.1 = Jos., *AJ* XII 135; Hieron., *In Daniele* 11.14 = *FGrHist* 260 F 45.

⁶ *A History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1927, p. 258.

⁷ See F. HITZIG, *Das Buch Daniel*, Leipzig 1850, p. 197.

⁸ Hieron., *In Daniele* 11.15-16 = *FGrHist* 260 F 46.

⁹ *JQR* 37 (1946-1947), p. 14-15; cf. V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 76; M. HENGEL, *Judaism and Hellenism* I (trans. J. BOWDEN), London 1974 (repr. 1981), p. 9 n. 30.

a role in an event in which he took no part. In short, Taeubler's solution assigns the evacuation of the *optimates* to unknown Ptolemaic commanders of an unattested withdrawal. This explanation seems far-fetched.

Jerome did commit an error in an earlier part of our passage, by dating the flight of Onias IV to the time of the Fifth Syrian War. Other blatant mistakes are to be found elsewhere in *In Danielelem*¹⁰. Nonetheless the work does contain useful and unique pieces of information¹¹. Hence each passage of Jerome should be examined according to its merits.

When we look at *In Danielelem* 11.14 we find that Jerome's information here rests on a good source. We know from Polybius that Judea was captured by Scopas during the winter¹². Scopas had apparently used the retreat of the Seleucid army to winter quarters in the north to make headway in his own military operations¹³. After securing his conquests by leaving garrisons in the recaptured towns, Scopas could well have used the remainder of the winter to bring the bulk of his troops to their winter quarters in Egypt¹⁴. There seems no point in transferring the removal of the *optimates* to Egypt to a time after the battle of Panium, nor is it logical to assign this act to a person other than Scopas.

More information on the Fifth Syrian War can be gleaned from Josephus' account, which depends partly on Polybius. Josephus tells us that when Scopas advanced northwards in the winter of 201/200, he encountered resistance from the Jews. Only by the use of force was Judea re-occupied¹⁵. This must mean that at the time the Jews were led by a faction which supported the Seleucid cause. For we know from the *Antiquities* that these people had cooperated with Antiochus III during the initial phase of the war¹⁶. This information can be used to clarify

¹⁰ *In Danielelem* 11. 17-19 = *FGrHist* 260 F 47 where it is said that Antiochus III conquered Rhodes.

¹¹ For Scopas' capitulation in Sidon see *In Danielelem* 11. 15-16 = *FGrHist* 260 F 46. The victory of Antiochus IV over the Ptolemaic army near Mount Casius is mentioned in *In Danielelem* 11. 21 = *FGrHist* 260 F 49a.

¹² Polyb. XVI 39.1 = Jos., *AJ* XII 135.

¹³ For Antiochus' III use of winter quarters see Polyb. V 45.4 (222/21 B.C.); 51.1 (221/20); 57.1 (220/19); 66.5 in Seleuceia-in-Pieria (219/18); 71.12 in Ptolemais (218/17); 107.4 (217/16). — For Scopas' making use of the winter see E. MEYER, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* II, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921, p. 123.

¹⁴ M. HOLLEAUX, *op.cit.* (n. 1) III, p. 326. A possible example of Ptolemaic soldiers returning to Egypt during a winter of the Fourth Syrian War is in *P. Enteux*. 48 and the commentary by O. GUÉRAUD, p. 121.

¹⁵ Polyb. XVI 39.1 = Jos., *AJ* XII 135.

¹⁶ Jos., *AJ* XII 131, 138. See also V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 76, 435 n. 102.

our understanding of *Daniel* 11.14: «The children of the violent among thy people shall lift themselves up to establish the vision: but they shall fall». We cannot be sure what the vision of the children of the violent was, but their fall must refer to the failure of the pro-Seleucid faction to withstand the onslaught of the Ptolemaic army¹⁷. After the re-occupation of Judea Scopas decided to punish the children of the violent, i.e. the leaders of the pro-Seleucid party. Jerome, in his commentary, *In Daniele* 11.14, tells us what this punishment was: Scopas banished the *optimates Ptolemaei partium* while going back with his army to Egypt to winter quarters.

This leaves us with the question of why the leaders of the pro-Seleucid faction are termed by Jerome *optimates Ptolemaei partium*. The answer appears to be that the Ptolemy referred to here is not Ptolemy Epiphanes but Ptolemy son of Thraseas, the Seleucid strategos of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Jerome, taking his material from Porphyry¹⁸, must have confused the *strategos* with the homonymous king and attributed the allegiance of the *optimates* to the wrong person, i.e. to the king rather than the *strategos*.

Ptolemy son of Thraseas (henceforth P.s.T.) could have been in office as the Seleucid *strategos* of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia as early as 201. *OGIS* 230 shows that he was στραταγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς Συρίας Κοίλας καὶ Φοινίκας sometime between 197 and 187¹⁹. An inscription found at Hefzibah contains two memoranda sent by Πτολεμαῖος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς to Antiochus III and the king's reaction to them²⁰.

¹⁷ F. HITZIG, *op.cit.* (n. 7), p. 197; A.A. BEVAN, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Cambridge 1892, p. 180-181; S.R. DRIVER, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge 1900, p. 171-172; O. PLÖGER, *Das Buch Daniel: Kommentar zum Alten Testament XVIII*, Gütersloh 1965, p. 160-161. V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 77-79 failed to see that *Antiquities* XII 129 ff. could be used to explain *Daniel* 11.14.

¹⁸ F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* II D, p. 877; M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* II, Jerusalem 1980, p. 428, 462.

¹⁹ G. RADET, *RPh* N.S. 17 (1893), p. 62; M. HOLLEAUX, *op.cit.* (n. 1) III, p. 161; E. GABBA, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Turin 1958, p. 18 no. 2. Initially this inscription has been dated to 218. See G. RADET – P. PARIS, *BCH* 14 (1890), p. 588-589; *OGIS* 230 n. 1. For a re-publication of this inscription see Y. GRANDJEAN – G. ROUGEMONT, *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 109-111, where there is a mistake in the patronymic. On P.s.T. see H. VOLKMAN, art. *Ptolemaios* no. 42, in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959), col. 1762; W. PEREMANS – E. VAN 'T DACK, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (hereafter *PP*) II 2174; VI 15236.

²⁰ Y.H. LANDAU, *IEJ* 16 (1966), p. 54-70; Jeanne and L. ROBERT, *REG* 83 (1970), p. 469-473 no. 627; Th. FISCHER, *ZPE* 33 (1979), p. 131-138. See now *SEG* XXIX 1613. For a different reading of lines 11-17 see J.M. BERTRAND, *ZPE* 46 (1982), p. 167-174; *SEG* XXIX 1808.

Ptolemy, the *strategos* of the Hefzibah inscription, is undoubtedly to be identified with P.s.T.²¹ The reading of the dates contained in the inscription has proved to be troublesome. The first editor maintained that the dates mentioned in the Hefzibah inscription belong to the years 111, 112 and 117 of the Seleucid era (202/201, 201/200 and 195 B.C.)²². If this is correct we then have proof that P.s.T. was *strategos* in 201. However, an alternative reading of the dates has been put forward according to which the correspondence of the Hefzibah inscription belongs to the years 114 and 117 S.E. (199/8 and 195 B.C.)²³. In that case the earliest date that we have for Ptolemy as *strategos* is 199/8 B.C. only 2 or 3 years later than the date proposed by us.

In addition, P.s.T. is identified with the Ptolemy mentioned in a *prostagma* of Antiochus III (Jos., *AJ* XII 138-144)²⁴. This *prostagma* deals with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the *terminus post quem* must be the capture of the city by Antiochus III in the summer or autumn of 200²⁵. The most likely date for the *prostagma* would be 200/199 though a later date is possible²⁶. This *prostagma* links P.s.T. directly with the Fifth Syrian War and our contention is that he was *strategos* of the Seleucid province as early as 201.

We must now ask ourselves why Jerome's source, Porphyry, describes the pro-Seleucid faction as being attached to P.s.T. It would be much more natural to link them with Antiochus III. The answer must be that the *optimates* became the supporters of Antiochus III through the influence of P.s.T.²⁷ While we have no evidence for any previous connection of P.s.T. with Judea, the inscription from Hefzibah probably refers to former links of Antiochus the Third's *strategos* with villages in the vicinity of Scythopolis. The villages belonging to P.s.T. are described as ... τὰς ὑπ[αρχ]ούσας μοι κώ[μ]ας [ἐγ]γῆται καὶ εἰς [τ]ὸ πα[τ]ρικὸν

²¹ Y.H. LANDAU, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 66.

²² Y.H. LANDAU, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 58-60 lines 4, 9, 19, 36.

²³ Th. FISCHER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 131-133 lines 4, 10, 20, 37.

²⁴ G. RADET, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), p. 61; E. BICKERMANN, *REJ* 100 (1935), p. 21-22; V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 82, 438 n. 115.

²⁵ Polyb. XVI 39.3-4 = Jos., *AJ* XII 136. See M. HOLLEAUX, *op.cit.* (n. 1) III, p. 326. V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 79 dates the capture of Jerusalem to 198.

²⁶ E. BICKERMANN, *loc.cit.* (n. 24), p. 35 dates the *prostagma* to 200-197.

²⁷ Similarly some of the leading men in Phocaea supported Antiochus III in 190 because of their attachment to his son Seleucus. Polyb. XXI 6.4.: ἴδιοι μὲν τοῦ Σελεύκου καὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως. At the time Seleucus was the commanding officer of Aeolis. See Liv. XXXVII 8.5.

καὶ εἰς [ᾧ]ς σὺ προ[σ]έταξας καταγράψ[αι]-²⁸. From this A.G. Woodhead has concluded that the first two categories of villages mentioned were held by P.s.T. before the outbreak of the Fifth Syrian War²⁹. Our man had connections, it seems, in more than one area of the Ptolemaic province of Syria and Phoenicia. We may therefore assume that P.s.T. had held the post of Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης στρατηγός³⁰. As the Ptolemaic *strategos* P.s.T. had the opportunity to establish personal relationships with the leaders of the various groups in his province. These contacts would prove to be vital for Antiochus III towards gaining support from the inhabitants of the contested province. Such relations between P.s.T. and the people governed by him must have lasted until the outbreak of the Fifth Syrian War or at most a few years earlier. The *strategos*' usefulness for Antiochus III would have been negligible if his connections there had been severed many years before.

Thus we disagree with the widely held belief that P.s.T. had deserted from the Ptolemaic army in the course of the campaign of 218, during the Fourth Syrian War. He is mentioned as one of the officers of the Ptolemaic army training in Egypt for the decisive battle against the Seleucid army (Polyb. v 63.8 - 65.10). Together with Andromachus and Phoxidas he was in charge of training the Macedonian phalanx and the Greek mercenaries. Andromachus and P.s.T. were the commanding officers of the Macedonian phalanx (Polyb. v 65. 3-4) while Sosibius was the commander of the Egyptian phalanx (Polyb. v 65.9). This is the only reference to P.s.T. in Polybius. He is not mentioned in the detailed account of the disposition of the Ptolemaic army before the battle of Raphia (Polyb. v 82. 2-7), nor does he appear among the commanders of the phalanx exhorting their troops immediately before the battle

²⁸ Y.H. LANDAU, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 59 lines 22-23; Th. FISCHER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 132-133 lines 23-24.

²⁹ In Y.H. LANDAU, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 66 n. 14. Followed by M. WÖRRLE, *Chiron* 5 (1975), p. 80; K.W. WELWEI, *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst* II, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 21 n. 73; R.S. BAGNALL, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, p. 15-16.

³⁰ After completing this article I became aware of the work of J.E. TAYLOR, *Seleucid Rule in Palestine*, Duke University Diss. 1979, p. 122 ff. Taylor too claims that P.s.T. was the last Ptolemaic *strategos* of Syria and Phoenicia but reaches this conclusion in an entirely different way. He argues that the title of P.s.T. as στρατηγός καὶ ἀρχιερέυς is a Ptolemaic one, and sees the preservation of the Ptolemaic title by a Seleucid official as proof that P.s.T. had been the Ptolemaic *strategos* of Syria and Phoenicia until his defection to Antiochus III.

(Polyb. v 83. 1-3). In addition, no mention is made of P.s.T. in the course of the battle itself (Polyb. v 84.1-86.1).

Polybius tells us that in 218 Ptolemy Philopator sent reinforcements to Syria and Phoenicia (Polyb. v 68.2). In the course of that year the Ptolemaic officers Ceraeas, Hippolochus and many others defected to Antiochus III (Polyb. v 70. 10-11). Since *OGIS* 230 indicates that P.s.T. became a Seleucid official, many have concluded that he must have defected during the campaign of 218³¹.

Doubts about the force of this argument were expressed long ago³². Indeed one might well ask why Polybius did not mention the desertion of P.s.T., a man who held a joint command over 25,000 phalangites³³ and was therefore of higher distinction than either Ceraeas or Hippolochus.

The arguments for desertion in 218 seem even weaker when we look into Polybius' text. P.s.T. and Andromachus, as well as the Macedonian phalanx, are not mentioned in Polybius' detailed description of the battle array at Raphia (Polyb. v 82. 2-13). Polybius chooses to mention only briefly the center of the two battle lines (Polyb. v 82. 2) and then passes on to a detailed description of the wings of the two armies³⁴. Thus there is no mention of Andromachus and his colleague nor of the two commanders of the Seleucid phalanx, Theodotus Hemilius and Nicarchus.

As we have seen, P.s.T. is not listed as participating in the battle of Raphia, but of the two Seleucid commanders of the phalanx (Polyb. v 79.5; 83.3) only one, Nicarchus, is mentioned in the battle description (Polyb. v 85.10)³⁵. We may also note that during the final battle against

³¹ G. RADET – P. PARIS, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), p. 588-589; G. RADET, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), p. 62; *OGIS* 230 n. 1; M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* I, Paris 1949, p. 187; B. BAR-KOCHVA, *The Seleucid Army*, Cambridge 1976, p. 88 where he is erroneously called Ptolemy son of Menestheus; H. VOLKMANN, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), col. 1762; *PP* VI 15236.

³² E.R. BEVAN, *The House of Seleucus* II, London 1902, p. 297.

³³ Polyb. V 65.4. Doubts about the figures given by Polybius for the strength of the Ptolemaic army were expressed by J.P. MAHAFFY, *Hermathena* 10 (1899), p. 140-152. G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935, p. 122-123 claimed that the combined strength of the Macedonian and Egyptian phalanxes in the Ptolemaic army was 25,000 men of whom 20,000 were Egyptians. Cf. F.W. WALBANK, *op.cit.* (n. 2) I, Oxford 1957, p. 590. But see W. PEREMANS, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), p. 214-222; E. CAVAIGNAC, *RPh* 3^e S. 25 (1951), p. 294; see now WALBANK, *op.cit.* (n. 2) III, Oxford 1979, p. 773.

³⁴ G.T. GRIFFITH, *op.cit.* (n. 33), p. 122-123.

³⁵ W. HUSS, *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV*, München 1976, p. 61 n. 258.

Molon, Antiochus III had entrusted the command of the left flank to Zeuxis and Hermias (Polyb. v 53.6) but in the description of the actual battle the name of Zeuxis alone appears (Polyb. v 54.1). During the siege of Seleuceia-in-Pieria one of the units intended to attack the city was under the joint command of Ardys and Diognetus (Polyb. v 60.4). In the course of the battle this unit is once mentioned as being under the command of both officers (Polyb. v 60.6) and once as being commanded by Ardys alone (Polyb. v 60.8). We may therefore conclude that when military units were commanded by two officers, Polybius allows himself to omit the name of one of the commanders. Thus the absence of P.s.T. from the description of the battle of Raphia does not prove that he was no longer in the service of Ptolemy Philopator.

This conclusion can be used to explain the absence of P.s.T. from the ranks of the phalanx commanders exhorting their troops before the battle (Polyb. v 83.3). Alternatively, the predominance of Andromachus over P.s.T. could account for the absence of P.s.T. Polybius stresses that Andromachus was a capable officer who could influence his soldiers (Polyb. v 64. 4-7). After the battle of Raphia and the recapture of Syria and Phoenicia, Andromachus became the *strategos* of that province. It seems reasonable to assume that he was of higher rank than P.s.T.³⁶

We claim, then, that P.s.T. participated in the battle of Raphia as one of the commanders of the Ptolemaic army³⁷. At a later date he was sent as *strategos* to Syria and Phoenicia, perhaps in direct succession to Andromachus. But by 201, he had already changed sides. Antiochus III re-appointed him to his old job, and P.s.T. used his connections with the population to facilitate the occupation of the province. The Jewish response was forthcoming. The supporters of P.s.T. joined Antiochus III in the first stage of the Fifth Syrian War and, consequently, their leaders were expelled to Egypt, after Scopas had retaken Jerusalem in the winter of 201/200. Support for the Seleucid cause, however, continued, and when Antiochus the Third's army approached Jerusalem, the Jews went over to the Seleucid side and helped the army to capture the citadel of Jerusalem³⁸. It seems no mere coincidence that after the expulsion of the *optimates* their cause was taken up by other members of the Jewish

³⁶ Polyb. V 87.6. W. Huss, *op.cit.* (n. 35), p. 61 n. 258.

³⁷ W. Huss, *op.cit.* (n. 35), p. 61 n. 258.

³⁸ Jos., *AJ* XII 133, 138; Polyb. XVI 39.3-4 = Jos., *AJ* XII 136; Hieron., *In Danielelem* 11. 15-16 = *FGrHist* 260 F 46.

ruling class, including the high priest Simon the Just and the *Gerousia*³⁹. In his *prostagma* (Jos., *AJ* xii 138-144), Antiochus III enhanced the standing of the *Gerousia* and the priestly families as a reward for their devotion to his cause⁴⁰. It may well be that other peoples and cities of Syria and Phoenicia supported the Seleucid side because of the influence of P.s.T., for as Polybius tells us, of all the inhabitants of Coele-Syria only the people of Gaza kept their allegiance to Ptolemy Epiphanes (Polyb. xvi 22a).

We shall now look into the events preceding the Fifth Syrian War in an attempt to understand why P.s.T. abandoned the service of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Woodhead is no doubt right in suggesting that P.s.T. deserted because he knew that he would be able to keep his lands in the vicinity of Scythopolis and even enlarge his property⁴¹. Antiochus III was known for his generous treatment of the Ptolemaic commanders who had changed sides in the course of the Fourth Syrian War⁴². But the real motive is perhaps to be traced to events in the Alexandrian court after the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

The child Ptolemy Epiphanes became king between March and August of 204⁴³. He was proclaimed by Sosibius and Agathocles (Polyb. xv 25. 3-6), the all-powerful ministers of Ptolemy Philopator⁴⁴. A short while after the proclamation Sosibius is presumed to have died⁴⁵, while Agathocles, who remained in power, failed to strengthen his position. In Alexandria Agathocles encountered opposition from the household troops (*θεραπεία*), the bodyguards (*σωματοφύλακες*) and the mob. Outside Alexandria, Tlepolemus the *strategos* of Pelusium stood in the forefront of Agathocles' opponents. Agathocles and his entourage were soon massacred by the Alexandrians⁴⁶.

³⁹ V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 79-82.

⁴⁰ V. TCHERIKOVER, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 80, 87-88; E. BICKERMANN, *loc.cit.* (n. 24), p. 24-25, 32-33.

⁴¹ In Y.H. LANDAU, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 66 n. 14.

⁴² Polyb. V 66.5; 70.10-11; 79.4.

⁴³ See E. BIKERMAN, *CE* 15 (1940), p. 124-131 and H.H. SCHMITT, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 189 ff. against F.W. WALBANK, *JEA* 22 (1936), p. 20-34. But see F.W. WALBANK, *op.cit.* (n. 2) II, p. 435-437. See also A.E. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, München 1962, p. 108-114; K. ABEL, *Hermes* 95 (1967), p. 72-90.

⁴⁴ On Sosibius *PP* VI 14631, 17239. On Agathocles *PP* V 14169a; VI 14576, 16813. See also W. HUSS, *op.cit.* (n. 35), p. 242-253.

⁴⁵ P. MAAS, in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* I, Bruxelles 1949, p. 444, 446-447.

⁴⁶ Polyb. XV 25-36; Just., *Epit.* XXX 2.6-7; Hieron., *In Daniele* 11.13-14 = *FGrHist* 260 F 45. See H. VOLKMANN, art. *Ptolemaios* no. 23, in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959), col. 1692-1693;

We must remember that the re-organization of the Ptolemaic army in 219, which brought a senior command to P.s.T., was engineered by Sosibius the Elder and Agathocles (Polyb. v 62. 7-63). To one or both of them our man owed this position, as well as the later position of *strategos* of Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Ptolemy Philopator did not bring a change in his relations with the Alexandrian court, nor was he affected by Sosibius' death. Although Agathocles did remove three of his own most dangerous enemies by entrusting them with diplomatic missions (Polyb. xv 25. 13-15), there was no general purge in the Ptolemaic administration in 204. While Ptolemy son of Sosibius was sent to Macedonia, his brother Sosibius the Younger continued his service at the Alexandrian court as σωματοφύλαξ (Polyb. xv 32. 6-8). Agathocles also proved to be too weak to deal with Tlepolemus. Therefore, even if one counts P.s.T. as one of the supporters of Sosibius the Elder, his position would not have been endangered.

With Agathocles' death, power came into the hands of Tlepolemus and the two sons of Sosibius the Elder (Polyb. xvi 21-22). P.s.T. could rely here either on his past relations with Sosibius the Elder, or on the enmity between the brothers and Tlepolemus, to secure his position. But with the downfall of Sosibius the Younger and his brother Ptolemy, things changed considerably (Polyb. xvi 22. 8-11). Tlepolemus was a young man (Polyb. xvi 21.1) who had first entered the administration as *strategos* of Pelusium, after the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and he may have owed his position to Sosibius the Elder⁴⁷. However Tlepolemus could not have had long standing relations with the elder Sosibius and later events led to his confrontation first with Agathocles and then with the sons of Sosibius. Tlepolemus' rise to power could have been seen as a threat to those who were linked with Agathocles and Sosibius the Elder. Thus the increasing influence wielded by Tlepolemus may have been a reason for P.s.T. to defect.

In addition, his position was endangered by the growing threat of Antiochus III to the Ptolemaic kingdom in general, and to the contested province of Syria and Phoenicia in particular. This latter threat was recognized as early as 204 (Polyb. xv 25. 13). The political instability of Alexandria must have raised doubts in P.s.T.'s mind as to the ability of

P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, Oxford 1972, p. 80-82; A. JÄHNE, *Klio* 58 (1976), p. 405-423.

⁴⁷ F.W. WALBANK, *op.cit.* (n. 2) II, p. 487 against Paton's translation of Polyb. XV 25.26 and H.H. SCHMITT, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 210.

the Ptolemaic army to withstand a Seleucid attack. Changing sides and relying on the well-known generosity of the Seleucid king may have seemed to P.s.T. to be the best option available to him.

Thus 204 may serve as a *terminus a quo* for the defection of P.s.T. An even later date is also possible. Agathocles was murdered in the autumn or winter of 203⁴⁸. His downfall was engineered, in part, by Tlepolemus and Sosibius the Younger⁴⁹ and their joint rule followed, in 203. We do not know how long they cooperated before Sosibius the Younger was forced to abdicate⁵⁰.

By 201, however, P.s.T. was already active in his capacity as *strategos* of the Seleucid province of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, rallying the support of the local inhabitants to the side of Antiochus III. We can say with certainty that P.s.T. was influential with the Jewish *optimates*, some of whom were banished to Egypt by Scopas, after the successful Ptolemaic counter-attack in the winter of 201/200. The Seleucid victory at Panium offered the Jewish ruling class another opportunity to demonstrate its allegiance to Antiochus III. Their show of loyalty led Antiochus III to reward them by means of his *prostagma* addressed to Ptolemy son of Thraseas.

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⁴⁸ H.H. SCHMITT, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 229-231.

⁴⁹ On Tlepolemus see Polyb. XV 25.25-33; 26.5; 26.10-11; 29.6. On Sosibius the Younger see XV 32.6-8.

⁵⁰ Despite H.H. SCHMITT's efforts, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 229-237.

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN CENTRAL SPAIN: PATRONS, FREEDMEN AND SLAVES IN THE LIFE OF A ROMAN PROVINCIAL HINTERLAND

An epigraphist walking through the ruins of ancient Rome receives the impression that slaves and freedmen predominated in the life of the imperial epoch, for three times out of four they alone are mentioned in the inscriptions.¹

It is only too true that our knowledge of life among the slaves and freedmen of the Roman Empire depends largely on the abundant evidence from Rome and other heavily populated urban centres.² Thus in the Spanish provinces, where the bulk of the evidence comes from the populous and highly romanized districts of Baetica and the East Coast, any variant patterns operative in other regions of the Iberian Peninsula tend to be swamped to the verge of oblivion by the sheer proportions of the data, with the hapless consequence that generalized studies present us with sweeping conclusions not necessarily applicable outside of the urbanized sector.³ To obtain a more balanced picture of lower-class social relations we must also consider the evidence from the «backwoods» zones deep in the interior, noting peculiarities of social practice in the hinterland as a provocative counterpoint to the usual assumption of intra-provincial homogeneity. The present article is an attempt at such a regional study, based solely on the evidence from Central Spain. Since the number of inscriptions from this region relating to our topic is necessarily limited, the method adopted places greater reliance on qualitative assessment than on statistical analysis. This article also offers significant new readings or interpretations for a number of the inscriptions dealing with slaves and freedmen.

The area chosen for this study, Central Spain, comprises the territo-

¹ J. CARCOPINO, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, Harmondsworth 1956, p. 68. Special abbreviations used in this paper: *BRAH* = *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. *EE* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. *ERLI* = J. ABÁSULO, *Epigrafía romana de la región de Lara de los Infantes*, Burgos 1974. *HAEP* = *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*. *RABM* = *Revista de los Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*.

² A recent example is G. FABRE, *Libertus*, Rome and Paris 1981.

³ See especially J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS, *Esclavos y libertos en la España romana*, Salamanca 1971.

ries of six inland tribes: the Turmogi, Carpetani, Arevaci, Vaccaei, Pelendones and Celtiberi (see map). The continued functioning of these pre-Roman tribal organizations under the Empire is amply attested⁴, and the epigraphic evidence from this isolated region reveals significant divergences from the «standard» patterns of slave/freedman activity. Whereas at Rome, slaves and freedmen appear on the majority of inscriptions (at least, according to the authority quoted above), in Central Spain they are represented on only 80-odd out of some 900 inscriptions. Even allowing for a higher poverty rate in this less advanced environment (which will have affected the possibility of affording an inscription), I believe we can safely infer that Central Spain was less reliant on the (largely urban) servile labour that outnumbered the free population in more romanized areas. The number of slaves and freedmen attested in town and country within Central Spain is indicated in Table I. Despite the comparatively small size of this sample (79 slaves, 52-plus freedmen), the variety of information it contains will be seen to warrant the examination of this region in its own context.

Table I. DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWN SLAVES AND FREEDMEN IN CENTRAL SPAIN

	SLAVES			FREEDMEN		
	Tribal Capital	Other Towns	Rural	Tribal Capital	Other Towns	Rural
Pelendones	—	—	1	2	—	—
Vaccaei	6	—	—	—	2	1
Celtiberi	29	3	10	5	3	6
Arevaci	13	3	—	5	2	3+
Carpetani	1	1	4	2	8	6+
Turmogi	1	4	3	4	1	2
TOTALS	50	11	18	18	16	18+

(+ indicates mention of *liberti*, without number. Each instance has been counted as 2 persons in the Table, but the number was probably greater)

⁴ E.g. Pliny, *NH* III 25-26; Ptol. II 6; Oros. I 2.73-74.

I. PATRON/CLIENT RELATIONS

Patrons are most commonly mentioned in epitaphs erected by their freedmen. Thus, at Numantia, L(?) Gallius Avitus is buried by his *libertus*, (Gallius) Luperus. In the same city, H(erennius) Modestus erects a sandstone stele to his patron L. H(erennius) Eudemus, while near Ercavica, Cor(nelius) Diogenes commemorates his sixty-year old patron L. Cornelius Paternus.⁵ A tombstone purchased by S(empronius) Primitivus for his *patroni optimi* (a 23-year old and his parents) at El Olmo near Duratón attests multiple recipients, just as an epitaph to Fausta and her son Arraedo of Uxama by their *liberti* represents a plurality of donors.⁶ In a single instance, from Toletum, the *libertus* is stated to be the heir and erects the monument in accordance with the patron's will (*heres ex testamento*).⁷

One epitaph to a patron merits special attention:

- (1) Villalazán. V. SEVILLANO CARBAJAL, *AEA* 37 (1964), p. 159-160 = *HAEp* 2326 = *AE* 1965, 105:

SALANS / TRITI AN. / LV MARINV / S LIB. D. S. F. C.

The deceased Salan(u)s is less likely a «Triti(ensis)», as the editors suggest, than simply «Triti (filius)», and despite the line division the dedicant's name is surely to be read «Marinus» rather than the editors' «Marinu(s) S(alani) lib.» (*AE* wrongly reads MORINV). But as a *libertus*, Marinus is presumably dedicating to his patron, and it is noteworthy that both men are referred to by *cognomen* alone.

There are far fewer epitaphs erected by patrons to their clients. One of these is a plaque from Polán (now in the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo) commemorating the donor's deceased freedwoman; unfortunately this inscription remains unpublished. But a more interesting text has now come to light:

- (2) Novallas (near Turiaso). I.J. BONA LÓPEZ, *Turiaso* 2 (1981), p. 39-40:
PRO / TERN / RONICO / IRO. / BERT

I propose: «[Sem]pro[nia Ma]tern[a And]ronico [v]iro [et li]bert[o f. c.]». This solution would make (Sempronius) Andronicus the husband of his patroness. For marriages of patrons and clients see text (5), below.

Another possible case is presented in the following inscription:

⁵ A. JIMENO, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Soria*, Soria 1980, p. 61-62; *CIL* II 3170.

⁶ *CIL* II 2766, 2826.

⁷ *CIL* II 3077.

(3) Clunia. C. MORÁN, *AEA* 17 (1944), p. 249-250:

ATILIO CAS / TO AN. IIII / APONIA PA / TERNA LIB

One could read «lib(erta)» and assume a child patron, but I think «lib(erto)» more likely, the difference in *nomina* suggesting that Aponia's husband (presumably deceased) was an Atilius and that she inherited his clients.

Finally, two epitaphs are erected neither to nor by patrons but imply the relationship:

(4) Clunia. F. NAVAL, *BRAH* 49 (1906), p. 411:

CAPITONI BVL / CAE TIRDAI F / VEI DELEIENI L / AN. XX ...

The editor translates this, reasonably enough, as «To Capito, son of Bulcas Tirdaius, freedman of Veius Deleienus, aged 20» (the name of the dedicant is lost). This inscription is remarkable for giving both the filiation and libertination of the deceased.

(5) Complutum. *CIL* II 5856:

D. M. / ATIL. SENARIONI / ATIL. SOSVMV / VX. ET LIB. ANN. / XXX F. C. M. P. F. / H. S. E. S. T. T. L.

F. Fita, quoted in *CIL*, correctly expanded «Atil(iae) Senarioni», but used a nominative for the next name as if he were the dedicant. One should rather read «Atil(ii) Sosumu (for Zosimi?) ux(ori) et lib(ertae)», and take the «f. c.» with what follows, viz. «m(ater) p(ater) f(iliae?)». It is noteworthy that Atilius So'sumus is both the husband and patron of his freedwoman.

Homage to patrons is also paid in honorific inscriptions. Two such texts (*CIL* II 3229, 3231) come from Alhambra near Laminium. One is erected by C. L(ici)nius Hedymeles to his *patrona optima* L(ici)nia Macedonica, *flaminica p(erpetua)*, on land provided by the local senate. The other is a joint commemoration of Allia M. f. Candida by her daughter Licinia Macedonica (presumably the same woman as in the previous text) and by the *clientes et liberti* of a *collegium* of which Allia Candida is patroness. In this case the *patrona* is probably the protectress of the *collegium* and not necessarily the former mistress of the freedmen who are now her clients. A similar relationship appears to be attested in an inscription from Segisamo, in which the four patrons and one patroness of a *collegium* are honoured by its members, several of whom are explicitly freedmen and slaves.⁸

⁸ *CIL* II 5812. On the interpretation of this text see J.H. OLIVER, *A Spanish Corporation and its Patrons*, *Eos* 48 (1957), p. 447-454.

There is only one commemoration of a master by his slave: a votive altar from Valdegeña (16 km West of ancient Augustobriga) on which a vow is discharged for the well-being of T. Cae(lius) Duiris by his *servus* Certio. But slaves are twice remembered by their owners, on epitaphs from Clunia and Segovia⁹, and sometimes buried with them, as appears to be the case with Tulleia Araucia and her slaves at Clunia.¹⁰ There is also a possible joint erection by owners and husband to a female slave at Reillo (see below, section III).

II. PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

Much of our knowledge of the Hispano-Roman economy and of the role played in it by the lower classes derives from inscriptions mentioning occupations.¹¹ In Central Spain we cannot expect much specialization, except in the few towns. Moreover, the high proportion of domestic slaves attested in the populous cities of Baetica and eastern Tarraconensis¹² will hardly be matched in this largely rural-oriented climate. But the occasional mention of an *ancilla* or *verna* does suggest a household servant¹³, and the large numbers of slaves attested at Clunia and Segobriga may reflect domestic employment. A few specific occupations are also attested.

Jobs. A slave doctor («Philumenus medicus») appears at Segobriga, and although Greek names do not necessarily denote oriental origin it is not impossible that our physician received his training in Greece.¹⁴ However, the prize text comes from Segisamo, capital of the semi-romanized Turmogi, and mentions a wool-comber (*pectenarius*), a shoe-nail maker (*clavarius*), a cobbler (*sutor*) and two fullers (*fullones*). Three of the five are freedmen, but the *clavarius* and one of the fullers are servile.¹⁵

Imperial Freedmen. The *familia Caesaris* has left little discernible trace

⁹ CIL II 2793; AE 1980, 584.

¹⁰ L.A. CURCHIN, *Further Corrections to Hispano-Roman Epigraphy*, ZPE 53 (1983), p. 112.

¹¹ L.A. CURCHIN, *Jobs in Roman Spain*, *Florilegium* 4 (1982), p. 32-62.

¹² J. MANGAS MANJARRÉS, in *Historia de España* (ed. R. Menéndez Pidal) II 2, Madrid 1982², p. 8.

¹³ *Ancillae*: CIL II 2793 (Clunia), 3203 (Valeria), 2823 = EE IX 303 (Uxama); *HAep* 1589/3274 (Palantia); *EE* VIII 153 (Lara). *Vernae/vernaculi*: *EE* VIII 155, *ERLI* 103 (both Lara); *AE* 1976, 358 (Clunia).

¹⁴ CIL II 3118.

¹⁵ CIL II 5812.

in Central Spain. The «Tib. Claudi[us] Prosodus» who dedicates to Mercury at Segobriga is patently an Imperial freedman: the *terminus post quem* for his manumission is A.D. 41.¹⁶ «...VS AV...IB», who dedicates to «T(utela) colon(or)um Cluniensium» for the safety of the emperor Hadrian, is undoubtedly a «[P. Aeli]us Auf[g. I]ib.»¹⁷

Municipal Slaves. These are attested only among the Celtiberi and Arevaci, and the numbers are in any case small. At Segobriga an epitaph is raised to «[Barb]arae rei [publi]cae Segob[rige]nsium [servo/ae]» by the *familia publica*.¹⁸ The role of the *familia* as a sort of burial club for its members has been noted in the case of private households¹⁹, but here we appear to have a municipal «family». At Valeria, one «Hermia(s) s(ervus) r(ei) p(ublicae) V(aler)iensis» sets up a tombstone to his son, a charioteer, while outside the city we have an epitaph to «Veria Vinuc[jana?], serv(a) p(ublica)» from her *contubernalis* Iulius Aestivus.²⁰ Finally, a votive altar from the theatre at Clunia is dedicated by «Festus rei publicae Cluniensium servus».²¹ It is remarkable that the three Celtiberian inscriptions all attest family life, either in the form of sons and *de facto* wives, or as part of the «legal» family, *familia*.

III. FAMILY RELATIONS

Conservi. Apart from the *familia publica* cited in the preceding section, the only explicit reference to *conservi* is the epitaph of one «[Mar]tialis» at age 22 by his *conservi* Deuter and Seque(n)s, «de sua pecunia». The last phrase is interesting as the only allusion in this region to a slave's money, and it appears from this epitaph that purchasing one's freedom was not necessarily the first priority in spending one's *peculium*.²² But there are also many inscriptions mentioning more than one slave, who are either buried together or erect the inscription together or to one another. This confirms the multiplicity of slaves in many households and the close bonds between them, which often led to either mutual activity or common burial.

¹⁶ CIL II 3099; P.R.C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris*, Cambridge 1972, p. 24.

¹⁷ CIL II 2780.

¹⁸ EE VIII 182. The name could be Barbara or Barbaras, cf. CIL II 3761.

¹⁹ M.B. FLORY, *Family in familia: Kinship and Community in Slavery*, *AJAH* 3 (1978), p. 84-85.

²⁰ CIL II 3181; A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *Cuenca romana, contribución al estudio epigráfico*, *Lucentum* 1 (1982), p. 224 no. 57.

²¹ I. CALVO, *RABM* 34 (1916), p. 108.

²² *AE* 1976, 356. Parallels from Rome: M.B. FLORY, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), p. 82-83.

(1) Segobriga. *CIL* II 5878:

(introduction broken except for words QVOD and EIVS. There follows a list of names:)

...TINA	NEDYMVS	BAL[bi
...NA	VITALIS	QVIN[ti
...ALIS	SILVINVS	NIC[ri
...MELLVS	VALENTINVS	CHR[esti
...IMETVS	MENECRATES	SEC[undi
...ERMES	FELIX	EVGE[nii

Hübner, the *CIL* editor, comments, «Videntur esse nomina sodalium ingenuorum duorum [*Tromen*]*tina* et [*Veli*]*na* tribu, libertorum quattuor, servorum sex.» This verdict seems to have gone unchallenged until now, but a closer examination makes such an interpretation untenable. In the first place the tribe *Tromentina* (or the alternative restoration *Pomptina*) is rare in Spain, and *Velina* is chiefly confined to the Balearic Islands. Moreover, to judge from the method of filiation, the *ingenui* appear to be sons of peregrines, according to Hübner's restorations «Bal[bi (f.)]» and «Quin[ti (f.)]», and one would be hard pressed to explain how persons of such background and living in Segobriga obtained admission to these uncommon tribes — not to mention the objection that the filiation should precede the tribe (though exceptions do occur). Then too, where does Hübner get his four freedmen and six slaves? Is he assuming that the six persons in the last column are slaves, and that «...alis *Silvinus*» and those listed below him are the four freedmen? But how could the two *ingenui* be sons of slaves, and why do the freedmen have double *cognomen* instead of *nomen* and *cognomen*? Or is Hübner assuming that «...alis» and the names beneath him are the *cognomina* of four freedmen whose *nomina* are lost, and that «*Silvinus*» and those beneath him are slaves? But then their fathers are also slaves and that makes eight, not six. I think that Hübner's entire approach is erroneous. There is no requirement to think of *sodales* at all. The inscription may have been dedicated by a *familia* of slaves to the city or to their master (perhaps «[monumentum] quod e[re]xerunt servi] eius» or the like), and the entire list may therefore consist of single names. In this case the *cognomina* in the last column should all be restored in the nominative case, and the names in the first column may be *Valentina*, *Silvina*, *Vitalis*, *Gemellus*, *Himetus* and *Hermes*. On the two women's names cf. *Valentinus* and *Silvinus* in the next column. It would be unusual for

women's names to take precedence over men's in such a list, but in fact the first preserved column is probably (even in Hübner's view) the middle column of the text, so the two feminine names may have been centred and surrounded by a host of male ones, which thus began and ended the list. In view of the large number of slaves in this list and the preponderance of males, we may again be dealing with a *familia publica*.

Quasi-Marital Unions. The prevalence of *de facto* marriages among the Roman lower classes has already been remarked by Rawson and Flory.²³ Our purpose is therefore not the limited one of demonstrating that such unions existed in Central Spain, but rather to examine how contubernal relationships functioned in this environment.

The contubernal relations all involve slaves, though one partner is sometimes libertine. On a fragmentary epitaph from Reillo (Cuenca), the slave C(h)resimus appears to join his masters (father and son, or possibly brothers) in mourning his *contubernalis*²⁴: «[Ma]xu[mae] Vīb(ius) Marti[alis] et Vīb(ius) Com[es] s(ervae), Cresimus cont[u]bernali, s. t. t. l.» Note however that Maxuma is not an obligatory restoration; the *ancilla*'s name might have appeared in the preceding line, or the preserved «...XV...» could be part of her age. Another complex, though less problematic, relationship is expressed in an epitaph from Clunia, erected by the slave Dorcas to her *contubernalis* and two children («contubernali, fili[o] et filiae, h. s. s.»).²⁵ From Segobriga come two relevant inscriptions, one an epitaph of the slave Atthis erected by her *contubernalis* Anencletus (García y Bellido wrongly interpreted this as a dedication to the oriental deity Atthis!).²⁶ The other text is more problematic:

(2) Segobriga. F. FITA, *BRAH* 15 (1889), p. 128 = *CIL* II 5882:

D. M. S. / PHILLIS IV / LIAE NIGRAE / SER(va) H. S. E. / ...LA
CONT / ...C S. T. T. L.

Fita attempted to read line 5 as «[Vi]tal[is] con[iug.]», a restoration mentioned but not endorsed by Hübner. As an alternative I would suggest «[Sul]la (*vel sim.*) cont[ub(ernali) f.] c.»

The only certain mixed quasi-marriage is recorded on the epitaph of a

²³ B. RAWSON, *Roman Concubinage and Other de facto Marriages*, *TAPhA* 104 (1974), p. 279-305; M. B. FLORY, *loc.cit.* (n. 19), p. 78-95.

²⁴ A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 224 no. 56.

²⁵ F. NAVAL, *BRAH* 49 (1906), p. 410.

²⁶ *CIL* II 6338 *ee*; A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leiden 1967, p. 62-63.

slave woman, erected by «I(ulius) Aestiv(u)s con(tubernali)». ²⁷ It is probable that both partners came from the same *familia* and began their *de facto* union while slaves. Since such «marriages» lacked legal standing, there was no obligation for a master to manumit both partners, and freedmen sometimes refer to their *contubernales* as *conservae*, indicating that they had been slaves together, and that the woman remained in slavery. ²⁸

Children. Children appear frequently in lower-class epigraphy, usually as the recipients of epitaphs; the limited medical capabilities of Antiquity left children susceptible to death from disease, despite the master's presumed desire to save the life of a potentially valuable slave. The youngest of such examples is «Superstes [an ironic choice of name!] P(ublii) n(ostri?) ser(vus) an. III», commemorated by his father Amatus-tus. ²⁹ At Clunia an *ancilla* buries her son and daughter aged twelve and nine respectively, while another twelve-year old slave meets his untimely end in the same city. ³⁰ Still at Clunia, a freedwoman is interred together with slaves aged five and eighteen. ³¹

Among manumitted children we may first consider an example from Zamora province, «Elanica Abili l(iberta) a(nn.) X», erected by Paulus Catueni (servus?). ³² An epitaph from a Roman site near Madrid mentions «Aemilius [T. lib.] Eтурicus an. VII», son of Aemilia T. (lib.) Eutyc(h)ia; the fact that the son bears the same *nomen* as his mother suggests that he was born in slavery and freed with her, though it is just possible that Aemilia married another freedman of the same *familia* and that the son was born in freedom (in which case restore «[T. f.]»). ³³

Grown-up children present further problems of status. An epitaph to the freedwoman Caecilia Cara by her sons (*nati*) leaves us wondering who they were and whether they were born before or after their mother obtained freedom. Another puzzling case is the epitaph of «Lucifer L. Sempron(ii) Numidae l(ib.)» erected by his brothers Crispus, Syrus and Satur. Greek names suggest servile birth, but are the brothers still in

²⁷ A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 224 no. 57.

²⁸ E.g. *CIL* VI 14697.

²⁹ A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 223 no. 54.

³⁰ *CIL* II 6338 n; *AE* 1976, 358.

³¹ L.A. CURCHIN, *loc.cit.* (n. 10), p. 112.

³² R. MARTÍN VALLS and G. DELIBES DE CASTRO, *BSEAA* 47 (1981), p. 171-172.

³³ F. FITA, *BRAH* 56 (1910), p. 176.

slavery, or do they simply omit their *nomen* Sempronius as superfluous?³⁴

Home-Born Slaves. The bulk of the meagre evidence on slaves born in the household comes from Lara de los Infantes, a town (ancient name unknown) of the Turmogi. One example is the epitaph of «Dovidena verna Patris Tubici», the other of «Optatila Festa Candidi Baebi vernaculla» who died at age 27.³⁵ But Clunia records not only a home-born slave but also his mother's name: «Urbanus Morcicum Aquilliorum vernaculus, Vemastae filius, an. XII».³⁶ The Aquillii are his owners (cf. Attalus Corneliorum (servus), *CIL* II 3029), Morcicum a Celtic gentile designation (referring to Urbanus' ancestry, or to that of his masters?).

Familial Epithets. In previous studies I have suggested the importance of familial epithets as an indication both of natural sentiment and of romanized formulation.³⁷ There are few such epithets in the material from Central Spain. In epitaphs a son is called *incomparabilis* while patrons are *optimi*.³⁸ An honorific text from Segisamo is more florid, with the «cives pientissimi et amicissimi Seg(isamonenses)» praising their «patronis merentissimis et fe(licissimis) et praestantissimis et pientissimis».³⁹ The last of these epithets is by far the commonest to be found in Spanish epigraphy.⁴⁰

IV. ROMAN/NON-ROMAN RELATIONS

One of the most difficult social phenomena to assess is the willingness of a subject people to assimilate the customs of the conquering civilization. It took more than two centuries to conquer Spain, the longest of any province, yet the Spaniards are often considered to have been thoroughly romanized. In reality, however, this «complete» romanization was concentrated in Andalusia and Catalonia, while much of the interior

³⁴ M.M. SADEK, *EMC* 19 (1975), p. 8 = A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 221 n°. 47.

³⁵ *ERLI* 103, 159.

³⁶ *AE* 1976, 358.

³⁷ L.A. CURCHIN, *Familial Epithets in the Epigraphy of Roman Spain*, *CEA* 14 (1982), p. 179-182; id., *Familial Epithets in the Epigraphy of Roman Britain*, *Britannia* 14 (1983), p. 255-256.

³⁸ *CIL* II 3181, 2766, 3231.

³⁹ *CIL* II 5812.

⁴⁰ L.A. CURCHIN, *loc.cit.* (n. 37), p. 180-182.

remained under strong indigenous tradition. Since slavery, manumission and patronage all functioned in the pre-Roman period, the mere fact of their existence under the Empire is inconclusive, and our knowledge of the details of indigenous institutions is insufficient to permit detailed comparison. The use of Latin to record a burial or dedication indicates only a low level of romanization, and that as much on the part of the mason as of the dedicant. However, there are two areas where the inscriptions reveal the Roman or non-Roman tastes of the inhabitants.

Nomenclature. Although there are many instances of peregrines in the epigraphy of Central Spain, persons designated as freedmen normally bear the *tria nomina* (or *duo nomina*) of a citizen; this in itself suggests that their former masters were, or pretended to be, Roman citizens, for the master's *nomen* became the freedman's also. Slaves bore only a *cognomen* (which would normally be retained after the *nomen* upon manumission). The *nomen* itself is almost invariably Latin, but the *cognomen* affords much greater scope for evaluating the romanization of nomenclature. A tabular display of these *cognomina* (Table II) shows that approximately half of the females and slightly over half of the males in the slave and ex-slave categories bore Latin names, as compared with about three-quarters of their masters and patrons. Greek names were far more abundant than indigenous names among males, but a strong tradition of indigenous names persisted among females (who were, after all, less likely to require a romanized image for career purposes).

Table II. *COGNOMINA* OF SLAVES, FREEDMEN AND MASTERS/PATRONS

	<i>SLAVES</i>		<i>FREEDMEN</i>		<i>MASTERS/PATRONS</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Latin	68%	57%	58%	46%	67%	79%
Greek	25%	26%	31%	18%	21%	7%
Indigenous	7%	17%	11%	36%	12%	14%

(Sample Group: 67 slaves, 37 freedmen, 47 masters/patrons)

Religion. The syncretization or replacement of native deities represents a positive step towards romanization. These phenomena are evident in the slave/freedman evidence from Central Spain (Table III), although the nature of the deities worshipped (nature deities, mother goddesses, Hercules) suggests an *interpretatio Romana* rather than the adoption of genuine Roman gods. Since religious beliefs tend to be highly conservative, and true conversion is one of the last stages in the romanization process, we here have further evidence that the slaves and freedmen of Central Spain were not infrequently adherents of non-Roman cults.⁴¹

Table III. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF SLAVES AND FREEDMEN

TRIBE	LOCATION*	DEITY	DEDICANT	STATUS	DATE	REFERENCE
Pelendones	<i>Covarrubias</i>	Matres	Felix	ser.	2-3rd c.	<i>RABM</i> 75 (1968-1972), p. 574
Pelendones	<i>Covarrubias</i>	Matres	Abascantus	ser.	?	<i>ibid.</i>
Vaccaei	Palantia	?	?	ser.	?	<i>EE</i> IX 297
Celtiberi	Segobriga	Diana	Quintia	ser.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 3091
Celtiberi	Segobriga	Mercury	Ti. Claudius Prosodus	lib.	1st c.	<i>CIL</i> II 3099
Celtiberi	Segobriga	Hercules	Virria	ser.	2nd c.	<i>Homenaje a Sáenz de Buruaga</i> , p. 344
Celtiberi	<i>Manzanera</i>	Hercules	Aquilus et Nigrinus	ser.	?	<i>Teruel</i> 54 (1975), p. 217
Celtiberi	<i>Trillo</i>	Sol Augustus	V(alerius) Dio	lib.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 6308
Arevaci	Clunia	Fortuna Redux	C. Tautius Moschias	lib.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 2773
Arevaci	Clunia	Numen Th...	Festus	ser.	?	<i>RABM</i> 34 (1916), p. 108
Arevaci	Clunia	Tutela(?)	P. Aelius ...	lib.	Hadrian	<i>CIL</i> II 2780
Carpetani	Complutum	Tutela	Flaccilla	lib.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 3031
Carpetani	Complutum	Nymphae	Attalus	ser.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 3029
Carpetani	Complutum	Pantheum Aug.	L. Iulius Secundus	lib.	?	<i>CIL</i> II 3030

(* modern names italicized)

⁴¹ On the proportion of Roman to non-Roman deities worshipped by the overall population of this region see L.A. CURCHIN, *From limes to Latinitas: Roman Impact on the Spanish Meseta*, in *Proceedings of the 13th International Roman Frontier Studies Congress*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 692-695.

The last-named dedicant in Table III was a *sevir Augustalis*, who erected the monument at his own expense. Another *sevir*, L. Terentius L. lib. Sextio, commemorates the award of that office in A.D. 191 at Duratón (ancient name unknown but the presence of a *sevir* suggests a *municipium*).⁴² A fragmentary inscription from Segobriga naming an «[Agat]hopi lib.» also mentions «sodal[es]», apparently a religious or funerary college, and possibly the *sodales Claudiani* mentioned elsewhere in the same city.⁴³ However, a supposed mass dedication by a group of freeborn, libertine and servile *sodales* has been shown (above, section III) to be more probably a list of slaves without specific known context.

The most striking feature in all these data is the apparent ease with which Roman and non-Roman elements are juxtaposed. Roman and non-Roman deities are worshipped in the same city; Roman and non-Roman *cognomina* appear in the same family and the same inscription. In short there appears to be no social conflict or incompatibility between (seemingly) romanized and (seemingly) unromanized members of the groups we are considering. We seem then to be witnessing a very gradual and unforced process of assimilation, in which some persons have progressed further than others along the road to romanization, while indigenous traditions persist without inconsistency and indeed almost symbiotically. Such a juxtaposition was only possible in a neglected hinterland environment where Roman presence and pressure were comparatively light. The desire of these slaves and freedmen to emulate Roman behaviour and customs was apparently less strong than the bonds of interpersonal relationships and common social background.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Regional studies are often useful in showing how a specific geographic sector complies with — or differs from — presumed standards. The epigraphic evidence for slave/freedman relations in Central Spain is limited in quantity (itself a significant deviation from the Roman model) but useful in the range of details it provides on social intercourse in the region. Patronage is amply attested, chiefly on inscriptions erected by

⁴² G. ALFÖLDY, *Eine römische Inschrift aus Duratón in der Hispania Citerior*, ZPE 27 (1977), p. 222-228.

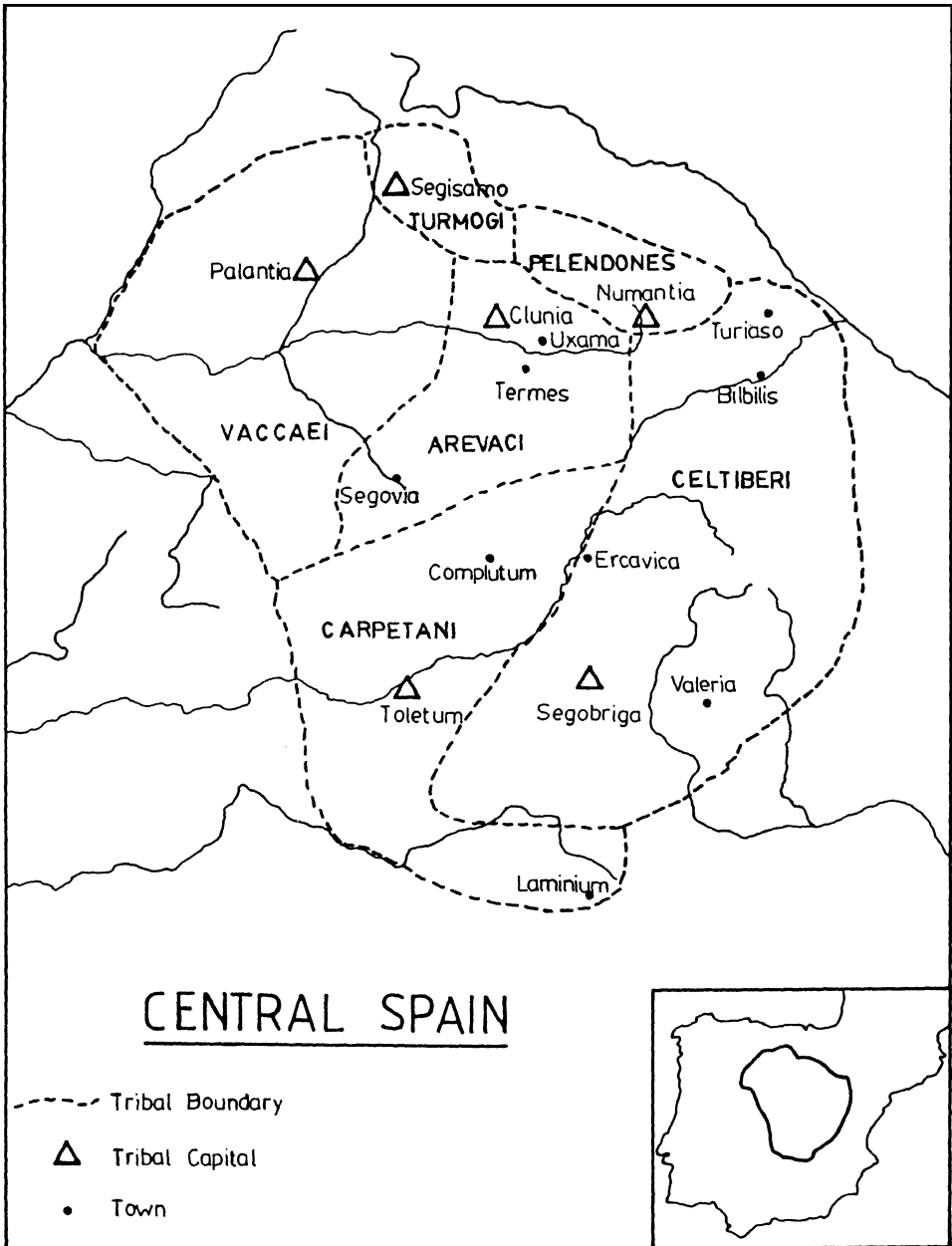
⁴³ EE VIII 186, cf. CIL II 3114. On the *sodales Claudiani* as a funerary college see J.J. SAYAS ABENGOCHEA, in *Historia de España* II 2, Madrid 1982², p. 253.

freedmen — possibly though not necessarily perpetuating a pre-Roman *clientela* system — and ex-slaves are sometimes heirs or spouses of their patrons. The relatively slight number of inscriptions attesting domestic slaves or particular jobs suggests smaller households and less specialization than in heavily urbanized regions, although larger numbers occur in local *familiae publicae*. Quasi-marital unions and children resulting from them do seem to follow trends elsewhere, so far as the limited data permit comparison. But in terms of other Roman customs, such as nomenclature and cult, the lower elements in Central Spanish society retain a marked adherence to indigenous practice, thus failing to achieve the level of romanization apparent in southern and eastern Spain.

Central Spain is illustrative, but surely not unique, in presenting its own peculiar social patterns. May we not hope for further studies by regional specialists — for instance in the Pyrenees and the Portuguese Algarve — to further document the nature and variety of slave, freedman and patron activities, thereby facilitating comparison between disparate regions of the Iberian Peninsula, and complementing similar work being undertaken in other provinces of the Roman Empire?

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THE ENGAGEMENT OF FAUSTUS SULLA AND POMPEIA

Of the marriage arrangements made to cement the coalition between Pompeius, Crassus and Caesar (which is popularly, but incorrectly, known as the «first triumvirate»), the most important was the marriage of Caesar's daughter, Julia, to Pompeius. Another was the marriage of Caesar to Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus;¹ the political offspring of this marriage was a consulship for Piso in 58, and a man in office for the members of the coalition.² Though the coalition was formed in the middle of the year 60, before the consular elections, it was not until May of 59 that the marriage of Pompeius and Julia took place, and then it caught some people by surprise.³

At the time of her marriage, which was her first and (as it turned out) only one, it is not clear how old Julia was. Suetonius (*Iul.* 1.1) says that she was born soon after Caesar's marriage to her mother, Cornelia;⁴ the latter was a daughter of L. Cornelius Cinna, consul from 87 to 84. If it is assumed that Caesar's marriage to Cornelia took place before Cinna's death in 84,⁵ then Julia would have been some years over the age of twenty when she married Pompeius, a somewhat unusual occurrence, since the daughters of Roman aristocratic families tended to be married

¹ Plut., *Caes.* 14.4; *Pomp.* 47.4; *Cat. Min.* 33.3; Suet., *Iul.* 21; Dio XXXVIII 9.1. It is not clear which of Piso's daughters Caesar married; she remained married to him until his death. Note Cato's vehement protest, recorded in Plut., *Caes.* 14.4 and App., *B.C.* II 14, that it was unbearable to have the leadership prostituted by marriages and to see men helping one another to gain provinces and armies and powers by means of women.

² Not that Piso owed his election solely to the marriage alliance with Caesar. He had the stature and influence on his own to secure election with reasonable certainty. The relationship may have brought greater advantage to Caesar than Piso (cf. Dio XXXVIII 9.1).

³ On the date of the formation of the coalition, see G.R. STANTON and B.A. MARSHALL, *Historia* 24 (1975), p. 209-212; contra, E.S. GRUEN, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974, p. 88-89. On the date when the marriage became known, see Cic., *Att.* II 17.1: *quid enim ista repentina adfinitatis coniunctio* ...? The letter is dated shortly after the preceding one which was written *prid. Kal. Mai.* (II 16.1).

⁴ Cornelia was Caesar's second wife, if the reference to Cossutia (Suet., *Iul.* 1.1) is taken to indicate a marriage, and not just an engagement (so H.E. BUTLER and M. CARY [eds.], *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Iulius*, Oxford 1927, p. 43).

⁵ So H.E. BUTLER and M. CARY, *op.cit.* (n. 4), p. 44. For a discussion of the date of the engagement/marriage, see R. DEVELIN, *Patterns in Office-Holding 366-49 B.C.*, Brussels 1979, p. 98.

off at an earlier age than that.⁶ Even if we associate the birth of Julia with the next event to which Suetonius proceeds in his biography of Caesar (though one must admit that he is condensing matters in an introductory section, and in general is never very strict in the chronological arrangement of his material in the *Lives*), we can only get Julia's age down by about three or four years. For Suetonius moves on to discuss the pressures which the dictator Sulla put on the young Caesar to divorce Cornelia, since she was the daughter of the Marian leader who had been chiefly responsible for making preparations to resist Sulla's return to Italy from the war against Mithridates. It may be possible then to put Julia's birth between 81 and 79, the years of Sulla's dictatorship and before his death, and that would make her between twenty and twenty-two when she married Pompeius.

A number of sources record that, at the time of the marriage arrangement, Julia was already betrothed to a Servilius Caepio, but that the engagement was broken so that she could marry Pompeius.⁷ In order to appease Caepio for the broken engagement, Pompeius offered him his own daughter, Pompeia, as a bride, although she was already engaged to Faustus Sulla, according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 47.6.; *Caes.* 14.4) who is our sole source for this latter piece of information.

Another piece of evidence complicates this last bit of information. Julia died in child-birth some time before September in 54;⁸ she had already had a miscarriage early in the previous year at the time of the aedilician elections (which had been brought on suddenly and unexpectedly after the praetorian elections held in February 55⁹), when in the violence and disorder which accompanied the elections at the start of Pompeius' and Crassus' second consulship Pompeius came home with his toga spattered with blood and his pregnant wife was so shocked that a miscarriage was brought on.¹⁰ With the link between himself and

⁶ The standard analysis is that of M.K. HOPKINS, *Population Studies* 18 (1965), p. 309-327. Marriage could take place with girls as young as the age of 12.

⁷ Plut., *Pomp.* 47; *Caes.* 14; Suet., *Iul.* 21; App., *B.C.* II 14; Dio XXXVIII 9.1. Cf. S.P. HALEY, *G & R* 2nd ser., 32 (1985), p. 53.

⁸ Liv., *per.* 106; Vell. Pat. II 47.2; Flor. II 13.13; Plut., *Pomp.* 53.4; *Caes.* 23.4; Suet., *Iul.* 26.1; App., *B.C.* II 19.

⁹ Cic., *Planc.* 49. On the date of the praetorian election, cf. Cic., *Q.f.* II 7.3 (with the n. ad loc. of R.Y. TYRRELL and L.C. PURSER, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, II, Dublin 1906, p. 96; and of D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum*, Cambridge 1980, p. 189.

¹⁰ The date of this incident comes from combining Plut., *Pomp.* 53.3 (undated but associated with the aedilician election) with Dio XXXIX 32.3. H.E. BUTLER and M. CARY, *op.cit.* (n. 4), p. 76, wrongly associate this incident with the miscarriage which led to Julia's death.

Pompeius broken by the death of Julia, Caesar suggested a new set of marriage arrangements to his former son-in-law: he offered his grand-niece, Octavia, to Pompeius as a replacement for Julia (though Octavia was already married to C. Claudius Marcellus), and he asked for the hand of Pompeius' daughter, Pompeia, which would require him to divorce his present wife, Calpurnia (Suet., *Iul.* 27.1). Suetonius adds the interesting piece of information that Caesar asked for Pompeia's hand, even though she was betrothed to Faustus Sulla at the time.¹¹ It is not clear when these arrangements were proposed (there would be no reason for Caesar to delay binding his former son-in-law to himself by a new connection), but it is clear that Pompeius did not accept them. For the time being he took no alternative action, but he did in due course make marriage connections elsewhere: sometime in 52 probably, he married Cornelia, the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (a man of the highest aristocratic pedigree, having been born a Scipio and adopted by Metellus Pius,¹² and the man who joined Pompeius in the consulship for the last five months of 52 after the year had started with Pompeius as sole consul¹³), and probably somewhat earlier Pompeius' elder son, Gnaeus, had married a daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher.¹⁴ Although Pompeius did not take up the offer of a new marriage link with Caesar, this should not necessarily be seen as a move away from Caesar in the direction of the *optimates*. There was no break with Caesar, since Pompeius, who had been made heir in Caesar's will drawn up around the time of the marriage to Julia, was not cut out of the will

¹¹ Suet., *Iul.* 27.1: *ad retinendam autem Pompei necessitudinem ac voluntatem Octaviam sororis suae neptem, quae Gaio Marcello nupta erat, condicionem ei detulit sibi quae filiam eius in matrimonium petit Fausto Sullae destinatam.*

¹² His was a testamentary adoption by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (cos. 80) who died in 64 or 63 (Dio XL 51.3). Cf. D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, New York 1976, p. 107-108. His daughter, Cornelia, had recently been widowed by the death of P. Licinius Crassus, who had joined his father on the ill-fated Parthian campaign. One wonders whether Pompeius wanted to gain the advantage of a Crassan link as well. It is not clear when the marriage took place: Plut., *Pomp.* 55.1-2 puts it soon after Pompeius' appointment as sole consul in 52, while Ascon. 31.9C refers to Pompeius as Metellus Scipio's *gener* during the campaigning in 53 for the consulships of the next year. That may be sloppy writing on Asconius' part, for there is no evidence that Pompeius supported Metellus Scipio's candidature in 53. Cf. E.S. GRUEN, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 154 n. 142.

¹³ References in *MRR* 2.234.

¹⁴ On the date of the marriage, see R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, p. 45 n. 3 (based on Cic., *fam.* III 4.2, written in 51). Cf. also Dio XXXIX 60.3; and E.S. GRUEN, *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 101-103. Another daughter of Claudius became M. Brutus' first wife about the same time (but see T.W. HILLARD, *PBSR* 50 (1982), p. 36-37).

now.¹⁵ It may simply have been that Pompeius saw Caesar's proposed arrangements as a waste of dynastic resources within their own group, and that the marriages which he did eventually make were seen as a means of widening their base of political support.¹⁶ On the other hand, one does not necessarily have to see a political purpose in the marriage connections which Pompeius did finally make; it may have been no more than a normal aristocratic desire to secure a «good» marriage.

This desire to secure a good marriage, which would indeed be secured by a marriage to the son of Sulla, may explain why Pompeius persisted in the (apparently) long engagement between his daughter and Faustus Sulla. For, if we accept the evidence of both Plutarch and Suetonius, Faustus Sulla was actually jilted in 59 and was threatened with being jilted in 54. Does that mean that Faustus Sulla and Pompeia were engaged for six years or so, from 59 to 54? Unless, of course, either Plutarch or Suetonius has confused the information about Faustus Sulla's engagement to Pompeia and applied it to one occasion when it really applied only to the other. Each is capable of that sort of error, but in this case it is unlikely that either was wrong. The evidence for a set of marriage arrangements in 59 is strong, so it seems reasonable to assume that Plutarch got the details for that year correct. As for Suetonius' details about the arrangements made at the later time, again it is reasonable to assume that they are correct, since we know that Faustus Sulla and Pompeia eventually married (she remaining married to him until his death in the African campaign against Caesar in 46¹⁷) and that presupposes an engagement, and since Pompeia was likely not to have been of marriageable age until the middle 50's (on this see further below) which would make her available for engagement to Faustus Sulla around the time that Caesar made his new proposals.

A clue to solving the problem whether Faustus Sulla was engaged to Pompeia all this time might be gained if we could identify the Servilius Caepio for whom her engagement to Faustus was supposedly broken in 59, and if we could answer the question whether he actually ended up marrying Pompeia. Unfortunately it is not possible to do anything but

¹⁵ Suet., *Iul.* 83.1 states that Pompeius was named as principal heir in Caesar's will from the time of his first consulship to the outbreak of the civil war.

¹⁶ On Pompeius' possible motives at this time, see E.S. GRUEN, *op.cit.* (n. 3), p. 452-453; and R. SEAGER, *Pompey: A Political Biography*, Oxford 1979, p. 140-141.

¹⁷ Caes., *Bell. Afr.* 95. Pompeia subsequently married L. Cornelius Cinna (*PIR*² C 1339).

speculate on both counts. An older speculation is that the Caepio was none other than M. Brutus,¹⁸ the future tyrannicide, who was adopted by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio, at the latest by the time of the Vettius affair, i.e. about July of 59,¹⁹ since he is referred to by Cicero in relation to that incident as *Caepio hic Brutus*,²⁰ drawing attention to the change of name consequent upon his adoption. An older argument against this identification was based on the form of Brutus' name following his adoption: in the literary tradition and in some inscriptions, he appears at most as Q. Caepio Brutus, and nowhere does the *nomen gentilicium* Servilius appear. Hence it was argued that, since Plutarch and Suetonius mention Servilius Caepio as the rejected fiancé of Julia, and since Brutus never used Servilius as part of his name, one could not say that Brutus was the one whose engagement to Julia was broken.²¹ However, an inscription has now turned up (from the base of Brutus' statue in Athens) which shows that he was called Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus, and so the former process of argument used to reject the identification of Brutus as Julia's former fiancé will not hold up.²²

Even so, there are other, stronger grounds for rejecting this identification.²³ The rich literary tradition about the relationship between Caesar and Brutus says absolutely nothing about a planned marriage between Brutus and Caesar's daughter; even in the passages which might be interpreted that way, why did Plutarch and Suetonius use the name Servilius Caepio, and not the more obvious name Brutus? On the political level, in 59 Brutus was involved in the Vettius affair, which

¹⁸ This view is put forward, for example, by F. MÜNZER, in *RE* II A (1923), col. 1775-1776 (repeated in *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Stuttgart 1920, p. 338-339). Cf. R. SYME, *op.cit.* (n. 14), p. 34 with n. 7; and S.P. HALEY, *loc.cit.* (n. 7), p. 53 with n. 12.

¹⁹ On the date of the Vettius affair, see L.R. TAYLOR, *Historia* 1 (1950), p. 45-51; and C. MEIER, *Historia* 10 (1961), p. 68-98, esp. 88 ff. Further discussion, with bibliography to date, can be found in A.M. WARD, *Marcus Crassus and the Later Roman Republic*, Columbia 1977, p. 236.

²⁰ Cic., *Att.* II 24.2. For the argument that Cicero used this phrase, because Brutus' adoption was recent, to distinguish him from the other Caepio who had been engaged to Julia, see R.Y. TYRRELL and L.C. PURSER, *op.cit.* (n. 9) I, p. 331; D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* I, Cambridge 1965, p. 400; and J. GEIGER, *AncSoc* 4 (1973), p. 149.

²¹ For an example of this argument, see R. SYME, *Historia* 7 (1958), p. 176; *ibid.* 29 (1980), p. 422.

²² J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 149-150; D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *op.cit.* (n. 12), p. 129-130.

²³ For the following arguments (based on C. CICHORIUS), see J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 153.

seems to have been directed against Caesar (or at least against the coalition between Caesar and Pompeius), whereas the Servilius Caepio who was engaged to Julia is described as having given Caesar a great deal of support in the struggle against Bibulus.²⁴ Brutus' attitude towards Pompeius would also tend to rule him out: he regarded Pompeius as the murderer of his father and did not even get onto speaking terms with him until the time of the civil war,²⁵ so that he is hardly likely to have accepted Pompeius' daughter as a replacement for the loss of Julia as a bride.²⁶ Note that Cato, half-brother of Brutus' mother, had recently rejected a marriage alliance with Pompeius.²⁷

A more likely identification for the fiancé of Julia is Q. Servilius Caepio, the man who adopted Brutus.²⁸ He is most likely the Caepio listed as a legate (or a subordinate officer) of Pompeius in the war against the pirates,²⁹ and possibly the Servilius who appears as a legate of Pompeius in charge of a Black Sea fleet in 65 (Plut., *Pomp.* 34.5). It is also a possibility that he is a son of Q. Servilius Caepio (pr. 91) from his marriage to Livia;³⁰ that would make him the brother of Brutus' mother, Servilia, since she too was a child of that marriage (or at least a step-brother, if we accept Geiger's reconstruction). Livia divorced the elder Caepio and married M. Porcius Cato (tr. pl. 99) by whom she had a son of the same name (the later Uticensis, and bitter opponent of the coalition between Pompeius, Crassus and Caesar). Livia's second marriage, of course, made Cato a relative of the Servilius Caepio who is being suggested as Julia's fiancé. Now, would not the same argument used to reject the identification of Brutus as the one engaged to Julia

²⁴ Suet., *Jul.* 21. Note that Bibulus is one of the people on Vettius' list who (it was said) were planning to assassinate Pompeius, so it is unlikely that the Caepio who was engaged to Julia should be identified with the *Caepio hic Brutus* who was on the side of Bibulus against Caesar in the Vettius affair.

²⁵ Plut., *Brut.* 4.1-3; *Pomp.* 64.5. Cf. R. SEAGER, *Latomus* 24 (1965), p. 526; and A.M. WARD, *op.cit.* (n. 19), p. 239.

²⁶ Cf. E. COURTNEY, *Philologus* 105 (1961), p. 154-155, who discusses the attitude of Brutus' mother, Servilia, to Pompeius in the prosecution of Scaurus in 54.

²⁷ Plut., *Cat. Min.* 30.4; *Pomp.* 44.2.

²⁸ M. GELZER, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman* (trans. P. NEEDHAM), Oxford 1968, p. 80 with n. 1; J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 150 ff.

²⁹ App., *Mith.* 95; Flor. I 41.9-10 (rejected by P. GROEBE, *Klio* 10 [1910], p. 382; and *MRR* 2.149). Cf. G.V. SUMNER, *TAPhA* 97 (1966), p. 580; and A.M. WARD, *op.cit.* (n. 19), p. 154-155. F. MÜNZER, in *RE* II A 2 (1923), col. 1761, separates the person mentioned here from the legate in charge of the Black Sea fleet.

³⁰ J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), says without explicit argument (cf. p. 155 and stemma) that he was born from a marriage earlier than that of his father to Livia. See below, p. 98.

(viz. that he regarded Pompeius as the murderer of his father and would not therefore accept any connection which would link him to Pompeius) apply to another member of the Servilian family?

The short answer is, one would suppose, that politics is more fluid than that, and that *inimicitiae* are more likely to have been put aside when it was politically expedient to do so. If we accept that the Servilius Caepio who was engaged to Julia was the man who served under Pompeius, then clearly he had decided to attach himself to Pompeius as a means of securing advancement (as a number of others did in the 60's). Moreover, if he were the son of Caepio (who died in 90) and did not get to holding an important military office until 67, it would seem that his career was delayed (as one might expect for a son of Caepio in the period of the Sullan regime³¹), and that would explain why he would want to seek advancement by attaching himself to someone like Pompeius. Maybe it was Pompeius who offered him the positions in the hope of reconciling the Servilian family. Anyway, on his return to Rome, this Servilius Caepio continued to serve Pompeius, working in the interests of the coalition against Bibulus and receiving as his reward the promise of the hand of Julia in marriage.

It is usually assumed that it was this Servilius Caepio who adopted Brutus (irrespective of the question which one of them was engaged to Julia in 59). There is another possibility: there is mention of a half-brother of Cato, one of Livia's children by her marriage to Caepio, who was on very close terms with Cato but who died at Aeneus in Thrace while on his way to Asia,³² probably in 67 or 66 (since it occurred while Cato was still serving as a military tribune).³³ An argument against accepting this man as the one who adopted Brutus is the date of his death: Brutus' adoption most probably took place in, or shortly before, 59 — well after this Servilius Caepio's death.³⁴ Münzer, nevertheless, attempted such an identification, «inventing a fictitious adoption by the family, fighting against extinction after Caepio's death.»³⁵ Such a fictitious adoption would, of course, be unworkable in Roman law and should therefore be rejected. Moreover, Plutarch's account of the will of

³¹ J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 155.

³² Plut., *Cat. Min.* 1.1 (birth), 3.8-10 (affection between the two brothers), 11.1-3 (death).

³³ On the date, see the discussion in *MRR* 2.150 n. 12.

³⁴ J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 152.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152-153. F. MÜNZER's identification is made in *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Stuttgart 1920, p. 337 ff.

this Servilius Caepio mentions only a little daughter and Cato as heirs; there is no mention of an adoptive son, or of someone adopted under the terms of the will.

So it would seem that it was the other Servilius Caepio who adopted Brutus. He clearly had the *praenomen* Quintus (since that was the *praenomen* taken by Brutus after his adoption), and that in turn would suggest that he was the eldest son of the praetor of 91, and would leave the *praenomen* Gnaeus (the only other *praenomen* attested for the Servilii Caepiones) for the half-brother of Cato who died about 67.³⁶ Since Plutarch mentions only four children from Livia's two marriages (first to Q. Servilius Caepio, and second to M. Porcius Cato), Caepio, Servilia, Cato and Porcia, who were brought up in their uncle's house (*Cat. Min.* 1.1), and since we know that this Caepio died about 67, it does seem likely that Geiger's conjecture, that the Q. Servilius Caepio who adopted Brutus was a son born of an earlier marriage of the elder Caepio³⁷, is correct. Since Plutarch does not mention him along with the other children, it would seem that he was not brought up with them, and that might explain why he did not share the hostility of some members of the family towards Pompeius and why he was prepared to link himself with Pompeius and his political associates.

What happened to the proposed engagement between this man and Pompeia (if indeed it is he who was engaged to Julia and offered Pompeia in her place when she was married off to Pompeius)? It is generally accepted that, since Pompeia did eventually marry Faustus Sulla (to whom she was engaged at the time when she was offered to Servilius Caepio, at least according to Plutarch), a marriage did not take place between Pompeia and Caepio. Gelzer suggests that this Servilius Caepio also died young, and that it was under the terms of his will that Brutus was adopted.³⁸ On this suggestion, Caepio would have died either before the marriage could be held or shortly after it took place. The timing of events would allow for either possibility: at the beginning of May Cicero wrote to Atticus of the sudden marriage connection between Pompeius and Julia (which freed Servilius Caepio to take another bride) and the Vettius affair, to be dated no earlier than July, is

³⁶ J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 155.

³⁷ See above, n. 30.

³⁸ M. GELZER, *op.cit.* (n. 28), p. 80 n. 1, presumably on the grounds that we hear no more of this Servilius Caepio. But then nothing is heard of him before this either, so he could have gone on living and chosen to adopt Brutus because he was, say, childless.

the terminus for the adoption (since it is in relation to that incident that we first get a reference to Brutus' adopted name).³⁹

Geiger conjectures that Servilius Caepio retaliated to the loss of Julia (and perhaps to the loss of Pompeia also, if Pompeius, as is a further possibility, changed his mind and decided to leave his daughter engaged to Faustus Sulla) by renewing his own family-ties and adopting Brutus (from the side of the family opposed to Pompeius), and by turning away from the political associations he had been building up since he took service under Pompeius, and by marrying Hortensia, daughter of the famous orator (and hardy optimiate).⁴⁰

What was happening with Faustus Sulla in all of this? In view of Suetonius' evidence that Faustus Sulla was engaged to Pompeia at the time of Caesar's proposals for a new connection with Pompeius following the death of Julia, and in view of the evidence that they were ultimately married, it seems best to assume that he remained engaged to Pompeia in 59 and that Servilius Caepio did not marry her (either because he died or because he chose to make other arrangements). Another possibility is that Servilius Caepio did marry her, that the marriage was later ended (either by Caepio's death or by divorce) and that Faustus Sulla was subsequently re-engaged to Pompeia.

If one accepts the former possibility, a further question is raised. If Faustus Sulla was engaged to Pompeia in 59 and in 54, does that mean that they had a long engagement of six years or so? A clue to answering this question may come from a consideration of the ages of this couple. Faustus Sulla presents no problem: he was born either in the second half of 86 or in 85,⁴¹ thus making him twenty-five or so at the time of the first mention of his engagement to Pompeia. Her age is more difficult to determine. Pompeius' elder son must have been conceived before his father left for Spain in 77 since he was considered 'old enough for marriage in 62'⁴²; the younger son, Sextus, is said by Appian to have been executed at Miletus in the fortieth year of his life (*B.C.* v 144), which would put his birth about 75. There is a problem with a birth-date for Sextus as early as that, apart from the fact that it would thus be made to occur at a time when his father was away in Spain.⁴³ The only marriage

³⁹ See above, nn. 19 and 20.

⁴⁰ J. GEIGER, *loc.cit.* (n. 20), p. 155-156.

⁴¹ J.P.V.D. BALSDON, *JRS* 41 (1951), p. 1 ff.; G.V. SUMNER, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology*, Toronto 1973, p. 88.

⁴² See above, n. 27.

⁴³ F. MILTNER, in *RE* XXI 2 (1952), col. 2214, suggests therefore that he was born

we know of for Sextus was to Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34), and it took place some time before 40 B.C.⁴⁴ If Sextus were born about 75, it would put him into his thirties at the time of his marriage, whereas if he were born c. 68-66, this would give him a more usual age at the time of his marriage. Moreover, he seems not to have been given any military responsibility at the outbreak of the civil war (because he was too young?), while his elder brother was given a naval command,⁴⁵ which suggests that there was a wider gap in their ages than the normally accepted birth-dates would indicate.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the establishment of dates for the births of her two brothers does not help in determining the date of Pompeia's birth, since we are given no indication of the order in which Pompeius' children were born (they were all produced from Pompeius' twenty-year long marriage to his third wife, Mucia), nor of their relative ages. Since Pompeia was only engaged to Faustus Sulla in 59, that suggests that she was not yet old enough to be married, which in turn suggests that she was born in the period between Pompeius' return from the Spanish campaign and his departure for the Eastern command (since if she were born before her father's departure for Spain, she would have been old enough to be married in 59). So, it is possible that Pompeia was born as late as 68 or 67, and that she was not nubile till 56 or 55. Hence the most likely solution to the question just raised is that Faustus Sulla was engaged to Pompeia in 59 (though the engagement could date from earlier, since such arrangements were made even while the intended partners were still in infancy⁴⁷), that he remained engaged to her for a number of years, and that he eventually married her in 54 or 53 (when she was old enough⁴⁸), soon after Julia's death and Pompeius' rejection of Caesar's offer of new arrangements.⁴⁹

between 68 and 66 when Pompeius was back in Rome. M. HADAS, *Sextus Pompey*, New York 1930, p. 3-9, examines the question in detail, but comes down on the side of the traditional date.

⁴⁴ App., *B.C.* V 53. Scribonia was the niece of Octavianus' first wife. He had agreed to the marriage in the hope of creating a family link with Sextus Pompeius and so of coming to an accommodation with him.

⁴⁵ References in *MRR* 2.271.

⁴⁶ F. MILTNER, *loc.cit.* (n. 43).

⁴⁷ *Dig.* XXIII 1.14; P.E. CORBETT, *The Roman Law of Marriage*, Oxford 1930, p. 2 and 4.

⁴⁸ There was of course no *rule* that girls had to marry at the age of 12 or 13 (see above, n. 6). On any reckoning of Pompeia's age, she was old enough to marry by 54 or 53.

⁴⁹ In a private communication, Professor G.V. SUMNER agreed with the conclusion reached here. He went on to point out a weakness in an insinuation of E.S. GRUEN who

If that solution is correct, then a further question raises itself. Why did Pompeius persist in such a long engagement, when other possible arrangements were being suggested which could have been more politically advantageous? The answer must be that he thought a marriage connection with the house of Sulla would be not only advantageous but also highly respectable. It should be remembered that Faustus Sulla's engagement probably pre-dated the formation of the coalition with Crassus and Caesar and should therefore been seen in the context of Pompeius' attempt to strengthen his links with the *optimates* within the senatorial aristocracy (the group which might be called the political heirs of the Sullan restoration of senatorial control). When Pompeius returned from the East he divorced Mucia and offered a series of marriage connections with Cato's family;⁵⁰ these were rejected by Cato (much to the regret of the ladies intended), but it does show what Pompeius was trying to do. His subsequent marriage arrangements show that he was never really at ease in his connection with the coalition and that he preferred to try to create links within the conservative aristocracy: his elder son was married to a daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher about 54, and in 52 he himself married Cornelia, the widow of P. Licinius Crassus killed with his father at Carrhae in 53, and a lady of the bluest blood.⁵¹

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suggests (*loc.cit.* [n. 14], p. 105, repeated *op.cit.* [n. 3], p. 453 n. 15) that Faustus Sulla fell out with Pompeius over Caesar's offer of new arrangements following Julia's death. This is groundless (as Sumner pointed out) since Pompeius actually rejected the offer, and Faustus in fact remained loyal to Pompeius in the civil war, being one of the few deliberately executed in 46.

⁵⁰ See above, n. 27.

⁵¹ For the date of the son's marriage, see above, n. 14; and for the date of Pompeius' marriage to Cornelia, see above, n. 12. I should like to thank Professor E.S. GRUEN and Professor A.M. WARD for reading a draft of this article and giving me the benefit of their advice and criticisms. It should not be assumed that they agree with what I have said.

DIE KALENDERREFORM CAESARS. EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE SEINER SPÄTZEIT.

I

Von allen Neuerungen Caesars aus der Zeit seiner Alleinherrschaft hat die Reform des Kalenders die längste Zeit überdauert — nämlich bis heute, einmal abgesehen von der Korrektur der Schalttagsvorschrift durch Augustus im Jahre 8 v.Chr.¹ und der bisher letzten Verbesserung durch Papst Gregor XIII. im Jahre 1582². Bei Berücksichtigung dieser Kontinuität ist Theodor Mommsens Urteil keineswegs übertrieben: «Im Ganzen genommen haben wenige legislatorische Reformen so vollständig ihren Zweck erreicht wie die caesarische des Kalenders³».

An der Fernwirkung von Caesars Kalenderreform ist kein Zweifel möglich. Im Jahre 46 v.Chr. allerdings war die Neuordnung des Kalenders in der von Caesar gewählten Form weniger selbstverständlich als heute. Probleme der Vorgeschichte, der Durchführung und der Aufnahme der Reform durch die Zeitgenossen stehen im Mittelpunkt dieser Untersuchung⁴.

II

Zu den ursprünglichen Wesenszügen der Kalender Griechenlands und

¹ S. unten Anm. 125.

² S. unten Anm. 136.

³ Th. MOMMSEN, *Die römische Chronologie bis auf Caesar*, Berlin 1859², S. 74.

⁴ Im Rahmen der politischen und der Kulturgeschichte der späten römischen Republik wird die Kalenderreform immer nur beiläufig behandelt. Aus der Literatur zur Chronologie sind die folgenden Werke hervorzuheben: L. IDELER, *Handbuch der mathematisch-technischen Chronologie*, 2 Bde, Breslau 1825 (Neudruck 1883); Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3); A. BÖCKH, *Über die vierjährigen Sonnenkreise der Alten, vorzüglich den Eudoxischen*, Berlin 1863; Ph.E. HUSCHKE, *Das alte römische Jahr und seine Tage*, Breslau 1869; O.E. HARTMANN, *Der römische Kalender*, Leipzig 1882; W. SOLTAU, *Römische Chronologie*, Freiburg 1889; F.K. GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie. Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker*, 3 Bde, Leipzig 1906-1914; W. KUBITSCHKE, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung*, München 1927; A.K. MICHELS, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic*, Princeton 1967; A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*, München 1972; E.J. BICKERMAN, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, London 1980².

Roms gehört die Einhaltung der Jahreszeiten für die jahreszeitlich bedingten Feste⁵. Caesars Reform des Jahres 46 erklärt sich durch die in diesem Punkt bestehende Korrekturbedürftigkeit des gültigen Kalenders. Das König Numa zugeschriebene Jahr war ein zwölfmonatiges, am Lauf des Mondes orientiertes Jahr von 355 Tagen⁶. Schon früh muß klargeworden sein, daß dieses Jahr mit den astronomisch unverrückbaren Jahreszeiten nicht Schritt halten konnte. Die am Sonnenjahr von etwa 365 Tagen fehlenden Tage mußten durch den Zusatz von Schaltmonaten ausgeglichen werden. Im zweiten Jahr einer Vierjahresperiode wurden 22, im vierten Jahr 23 Tage eingefügt⁷.

Dieser spätestens zur Zeit der Decemviren eingerichtete Vierjahreszyklus von 1465 Tagen hatte vier Tage zuviel, da vier Sonnenjahre einen Wert von ziemlich genau 1461 Tagen haben. Der eigenartige Fehler ist nie richtig korrigiert worden⁸. Seit dem Jahre 191 v.Chr. besaß das Kollegium der Pontifices allerdings die Vollmacht, nach Belieben zu Schalten, um den Kalender so gut wie möglich zu berichtigen⁹.

⁵ Vgl. Hdt. II 4.1; Geminus 8.7-10. Die Ägypter fielen deshalb auf, weil sie keinen Wert auf die Beständigkeit der jahreszeitlichen Feste legten (Geminus 8.16-19); Ptolemaios III. hat das im Jahre 238 vergeblich zu ändern versucht (Anm. 53). Die Einrichtung des römischen Kalenders *sacrorum causa* betonte Valerius Antias (F 5 Peter = Macr., *Sat.* I 13.20). Die gregorianische Reform des Jahres 1582 (Anm. 136) soll u.a. garantieren, daß Ostern nicht aufhört, ein Fest im Frühling zu sein.

⁶ Cens. 20.4.

⁷ Cens. 20.5. Zum Problem der Interkalation s. auch A.K. MICHELS, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 145 ff., sowie H. CHANTRAINE, *Hermes* 104 (1976), S. 116-118. Über die Regelung der vorcaesarischen Schaltung gab es eine ausgebreitete gelehrte Diskussion, die sich z.T. durch die politische Bedeutung der Frage erklärt (vgl. die Macr., *Sat.* I 13.20-21 zitierten Autoren). Die — ungefähre — Länge des Sonnenjahres war schon den Babyloniern und Ägyptern bekannt; Platon setzt es für seinen Staat der 'Nomoi' voraus (p. 828 A-B). Die beste antike Berechnung, wichtig für einen exakten Ansatz der Schaltung, stammt von Hipparch (Anm. 135).

⁸ Cens. 20.6: *denique cum intercalarium mensem viginti duum vel viginti trium dierum alternis annis addi placuisset, ut civilis annus ad naturalem exaequaretur, in mense potissimum Februario inter terminalia et regifugium intercalatum est, idque diu factum prius quam sentiretur annos civiles aliquanto naturalibus esse maiores*. Der Fehler wäre zu vermeiden gewesen, hätte man den Februar des Schaltjahres am 21. oder 22. Februar abgebrochen. Die Beibehaltung der Terminalia am 23. Februar erklärt Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 37 f. durch den Widerstand der Priester gegen die Verschiebung eines Festes.

⁹ Macr., *Sat.* I 13.21: *Fulvius autem id egisse — sc. de intercalando populum rogasse — M'. Acilium consulem dicit ab urbe condita anno quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, inito mox bello Aetolico*. Dies ist ein Zitat aus dem Werk *De fastis* des M. Fulvius Nobilior cos. 189 über M'. Acilius Glabrio cos. 191; vgl. auch Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 40 f., sowie A.K. MICHELS, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 101 f. und W. BURKERT, *Philologus* 105 (1961), S. 241 f. Es ging hier um eine allmähliche Verbesserung des Kalenders bzw. der Kalenderabweichung, die sich bei konsequenter Anwendung über viele Jahre hingezogen hätte.

Es ist schwer zu sagen, in welchem Maße die Pontifices des 2. und 1. Jahrhunderts in der Lage waren, die Probleme des römischen Kalenders genau zu beurteilen. Nicht alle Quellen sprechen von der Unwissenheit der Priester¹⁰ beim fehlerhaften Umgang mit der Schaltung. Schon vor Caesars Reform war bekannt, daß unter Zugrundelegung eines Sonnenjahres von 365 1/4 Tagen durch vorher festgelegte Interkalationen alle 24 Jahre ein Ausgleich des Kalenders mit dem Sonnenstand erzielt werden konnte, und innerhalb dieser 24 Jahre brauchte die Abweichung von den Jahreszeiten nicht sehr groß zu sein — Caesars späterer Kalender war auch nicht viel exakter¹¹.

Den Gang des römischen Kalenders vor Caesar zu kennen, ist mit einiger Genauigkeit nur für die Zeit seit dem 2. römisch-karthagischen Krieg möglich, und zwar aufgrund zweier Notizen bei Livius. Die Verschiebung der Jahreszeiten war dabei für Livius und vermutlich auch für seine Quellen ohne erkennbare Bedeutung¹². Die Sonnenfinsternis vom 14. März 190 v.Chr. — in der heute gültigen julianischen Umrechnung — entsprach dem 11. Juli des damaligen römischen Jahres; der Kalender lief der astronomischen Zeit also um rund vier Monate voraus¹³. Die Mondfinsternis vom 21. Juni 168 julianischer Rechnung fiel auf den 3. September des damaligen Jahres; damals war der Kalender also um rund zweieinhalb Monate der wirklichen Jahreszeit voraus¹⁴. Aus der übrigen literarischen Überlieferung geht hervor, daß der Kalender in den Jahren 149, 101 und wohl auch noch 66 mit der

Der Antrag des M'. Acilius Glabrio gehört in eine Zeit verstärkter astronomischer und chronologischer Studien in der römischen Oberschicht.

¹⁰ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.1: *et sub specie observationis emergebat maior confusionis occasio*. Cicero bemängelte die *neglegentia* (Anm. 33), und die Befürworter einer gründlichen Kalenderverbesserung kritisierten Korruption und *licentia* (Anm. 134). Ein Mann wie C. Sulpicius Galus cos. 166 (Anm. 14) konnte seine Standesgenossen belehren — allein das «schwierige Verhältnis des römischen Regierungspersonals zur ausländischen Mathematik» (Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* [Anm. 3], S. 30) kann nicht der ausschlaggebende Grund für die Fehlerhaftigkeit der Schaltungen gewesen sein.

¹¹ Macr., *Sat.* I 13.13; vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 44 ff. Der julianische Kalender lief in 128 Jahren um einen Tag zu schnell (Anm. 135).

¹² Interkalationen werden kommentarlos erwähnt XXXVII 59.1 (189 v.Chr.), XLIII 11.13 (170 v.Chr.) und XLV 44.3 (167 v.Chr.). Livius hat König Numas Kalender gerühmt (Anm. 41) und gehörte wohl nicht zu den Lobrednern der julianischen Reform (Anm. 119).

¹³ Liv. XXXVII 4.4; F. BOLL, art. *Finsternisse*, in *RE* VI (1909), Sp. 2358.

¹⁴ Liv. XLIV 37.8 über die vorherige Ankündigung der Mondfinsternis durch C. Sulpicius Galus cos. 166 (vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte* I, Berlin 1902⁹, S. 932 f.). Zum Stand des damaligen Kalenders s. auch J. BRISCOE, *A Commentary on Livy. Books XXXIV-XXXVII*, Oxford 1981, S. 17 ff.

wirklichen Jahreszeit im großen und ganzen übereingestimmt haben dürfte¹⁵. Spätestens seit den sechziger Jahren hat sich das geändert, denn Caesar mußte im Jahre 46 neunzig zusätzliche Tage einsetzen, um den Gleichstand des römischen Jahres mit dem Sonnenjahr zu erreichen¹⁶.

III

Zeitgenössische Beschwerden über die Ungenauigkeit des Kalenders sind nur schwer faßbar. Zum Verständnis dieses nach heutigen, an den julianischen Kalender gewöhnten Maßstäben überraschenden Schweigens ist freilich hinzuzufügen, daß es in allen den Fällen, wo es auf die präzise Kenntnis des Sonnenstands ankam, keinerlei Probleme gab, den «wirklichen» Tag innerhalb des Sonnenjahres zu ermitteln. Kein Landwirt wäre auf die Idee gekommen, mit den Aprilarbeiten zu beginnen, nur weil der Kalender den April anzeigte — maßgeblich waren hier Sternphasen und Wetterzeichen, für die es auch Verzeichnisse gab¹⁷. Kein Feldherr konnte sich bei seiner Planung auf die im bürgerlichen Kalender angegebenen Daten verlassen. Als Caesar seine Truppen nach Britannien übersetzte, bestimmte er die Jahreszeit nicht nach dem Kalender, sondern nach dem Sonnenstand¹⁸.

Der für die nachcaesarische Zeit so selbstverständliche Vorteil einer zuverlässigen Rechnung des bürgerlichen Jahres spielt vor Caesars Reform keinerlei Rolle; in diesem Sinne war auch ein Bedürfnis für eine Verbesserung des Kalenders nicht spürbar¹⁹. Die einzige bekannte Beschwerde über die Verschiebung des Kalenders gegenüber dem Son-

¹⁵ 149: App., *Lib.* 99.466; 101: Sall., *Bell.Jug.* 37.3; 66: Plut., *Pomp.* 34; für die Einzelheiten s. F.K. GINZEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 270. Zu weitergehenden Rechnungen, die allerdings auf der Voraussetzung des für die Republik unbewiesenen Nundinal-Aberglaubens (Anm. 85) beruhen, s. G. RADKE, *RhM* 106 (1963), S. 313-335 und *Gymnasium* 71 (1964), S. 80 ff.

¹⁶ S. unten Anm. 79.

¹⁷ Vgl. nur Hesiods '*Werke und Tage*' und Vergils '*Georgica*'. Zum römischen 'Bauernkalender' s. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 54 ff. Varros '*Ephemeris*': Anm. 100.

¹⁸ Caes., *Bell.Gall.* IV 10.1; IV 36.2; V 23.5. S. auch Pol. IX 14.5 über die astronomischen Kenntnisse, die ein Feldherr braucht.

¹⁹ Von Caesar gibt es kein Selbstzeugnis zu dieser Frage, doch ist das allein noch kein Beweis dafür, daß er nicht darüber nachgedacht hat. Ein Bewußtsein für die Bequemlichkeit des julianischen Kalenders ist im 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. bei Galen zu erkennen (Anm. 140). Vgl. allgemein R. WENDORFF, *Zeit und Kultur. Geschichte des Zeitbewußtseins in Europa*, Opladen 1980.

nenstand vor den Debatten über Caesars Reform betraf die Vorschriften der Staatsreligion über die Abhaltung der jahreszeitlichen Feste²⁰.

Noch die wenigen erhaltenen Zeugnisse aus den fünfziger Jahren machen die Nachlässigkeit der Pontifices im Umgang mit dem Kalender deutlich. Die Öffentlichkeit hatte keine Möglichkeit, sich über künftige Schaltungen rechtzeitig zu informieren; selbst Anfang Februar konnte man zuweilen nicht wissen, ob die Pontifices zu schalten geruhen würden oder nicht²¹. Die Einhaltung der Jahreszeiten muß für das Kollegium damals ein Thema von geringer Bedeutung gewesen sein²². Hier stellt sich natürlich sofort die Frage, ob nicht auch Caesar selbst, der doch seit 63 v.Chr. Pontifex Maximus war und mindestens Mitverantwortung trug, Anteil gehabt hat an dem spürbaren Verfall des Kalenders.

Soweit die Quellen ein Urteil darüber erlauben, ist offenbar niemand auf die Idee gekommen, Caesar eine Vernachlässigung seiner Pflichten vorzuwerfen. Es ist ganz bezeichnend, daß Cicero in der vermutlich Ende der fünfziger Jahre verfaßten Schrift 'de legibus' von der *neglegentia* der Pontifices spricht, nicht etwa nur von Versäumnissen des Pontifex Maximus²³. Äußerungen Ciceros gegenüber Atticus über eine Interkalation, die im Jahre 50 kommen sollte oder auch nicht, lassen keinen anderen Schluß zu als den, daß es Ciceros optimatische Freunde waren, die über das Mittel der Schaltung frei verfügen wollten²⁴.

Im Jahre 50 forderte der mit Caesar damals verbündete Tribun Curio, der übrigens selbst auch Pontifex war, eine Interkalation, die er nutzen wollte für eine Verlängerung seiner Amtszeit. Der Antrag wurde im Senat von den Gegnern Curios und Caesars abgelehnt; es ist nicht festzustellen, daß die religiös begründete Forderung nach der Überein-

²⁰ S. unten Anm. 33.

²¹ So erklärt sich die Datierung bei Cic., *Att.* VI 1.1 (vom 20. Februar 50): *accepi tuas litteras a.d. quintum Terminalia Laodiceae*. Vgl. die campanische Inschrift *CIL* I² 682 = *ILLRP* 719 vom Jahre 94: *Pagus Herculaneus scivit a.d.X Terminalia*... Die Kurzfristigkeit der Ankündigung der Schaltung wird beklagt in Plutarchs Schilderung der Zustände vor Caesars Reform (*Caes.* 59.3).

²² Das Prestige der Pontifices war in den letzten Jahren der Republik ungebrochen. Feierliche Befragungen des Kollegiums werden erwähnt Cic., *Att.* I 13.1; *dom.* 69; *har.resp.* 11. In Varros *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* gab es ein ganzes Buch über die Pontifices; s. auch H.D. JOCELYN, *BRL* 65 (1982), S. 187.

²³ Cic., *de leg.* II 29 (Anm. 33); zur Abfassungszeit s. K.M. GIRARDET, *Die Ordnung der Welt. Ein Beitrag zur philosophischen und politischen Interpretation von Ciceros Schrift De Legibus*, Wiesbaden 1983, S. 1 f.

²⁴ Cic., *Att.* V 9.2 (14. Juni 51): *hoc tibi ita mando ut dubitem an etiam te rogem ut pugnes ne intercaletur*; *Att.* V 13.3 (26. Juli 51): *quoniam Romae manes, primum illud praefulci atque praemuni, quaeso ut simus annui, ne intercaletur quidem*. Cicero kümmert sich ausgesprochen früh um das Problem.

stimmung von wirklicher Jahreszeit und Kalender-Jahreszeit, die durch eine Interkalation damals nur verbessert worden wäre, für die Optimaten von Gewicht war²⁵.

Welche Interessen konnten die Pontifices bei ihren Entscheidungen über eine Interkalation leiten? Ein vermutlich nicht sehr seltenes Motiv beim unseriösen Umgang mit der Schaltung wird in der erhaltenen Überlieferung nur wenig erwähnt: die Steuerpächtergesellschaften konnten durch die Verlängerung oder Nichtverlängerung des Jahres finanzielle Vorteile erlangen²⁶.

Curios Wunsch nach einer Interkalation im Jahre 50 macht ein weiteres Motiv deutlich. Durch einen zusätzlichen Monat wurde die Zahl der Tage erhöht, an denen über Gesetze abgestimmt werden konnte. Nicht nur Volkstribune wie Curio konnten an solchen Verlängerungen der Amtszeit Interesse haben²⁷.

Die Debatten um den Antrag Curios zeigen, daß die letzte Entscheidung über eine vom Priesterkollegium nicht einmütig beschlossene Interkalation beim Senat lag²⁸. Ciceros frühzeitige Hilferufe an Atticus wegen der von ihm geradezu gefürchteten Interkalation im Jahre 50, die seine Statthalterschaft in Kilikien verlängert haben würde, lassen ebenfalls erkennen, daß eine so wesentliche Frage wie die Verlängerung eines Kalenderjahres durch mächtige Fürsprecher im Senat beeinflußt werden konnte²⁹. In diesem Sinne wird sich auch das Fehlen jeder Kritik an

²⁵ Vgl. Dio XL 62.1-2 — nach Dio bestand damals keinerlei Anlaß für die Einfügung eines Schaltmonats aus kalendarischen Gründen; diese mangelnde Beachtung der Kalenderverschiebung ist typisch für die Zeitgenossen und wohl auch für Dios Quelle, vielleicht Livius (Anm. 119).

²⁶ Cens. 20.6-7: *quod delictum* (s. Anm. 8) *ut corrigeretur, pontificibus datum negotium eorumque arbitrio intercalandi ratio permissa. Sed horum plerique ob odium vel gratiam, quo quis magistratu citius abiret diutiusve fungeretur aut publici redemptor ex anni magnitudine in lucro damnove esset, plus minusve ex libidine intercalando rem sibi ad corrigendum mandatam ultro quod depravarunt...*; Macr., *Sat.* I 14.1; Anm. Marc. XXVI 1.12. A.W. LINTOTT, *CQ* 18 (1968), S. 193 weist darauf hin, daß die *publicani* in zwei möglichen Schaltjahren, 58 und 54, besonders tätig waren. Zur Frage der Zinsen im Schaltmonat s. T.J. LUCE, *Hermes* 95 (1967), S. 383 f. (zu Liv. IX 9.2). Vgl. auch Th. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, Leipzig 1887³, S. 344 über ähnliche Manipulationen mit dem zensorischen *lustrum*.

²⁷ Cens. 20.7 (Anm. 26); vgl. Liv. IX 34.16 über Ap. Claudius Caecus cens. 312. Die Interkalation des Jahres 52 (vgl. Asc. p. 33,29 f. Stangl), die auch als Verlängerung der Amtsfristen nützlich war, wird in der erhaltenen Überlieferung nicht eigens begründet. Für eine irreguläre Interkalation würde sich das Jahr 55, das Konsulatsjahr von Pompeius und Crassus, anbieten, doch gibt es kein Zeugnis dafür.

²⁸ Vgl. Caelius ap. Cic., *Fam.* VIII 6.5 über Curio. Nimmt man Dio XL 62.2 wörtlich, so findet der Streit zwischen Curio und seinen Pontifikal-Kollegen im Senat statt.

²⁹ Vgl. Anm. 24. Die Haltung Caesars ist für Cicero offensichtlich ohne Bedeutung.

Versäumnissen Caesars bei der Kalenderüberwachung in den fünfziger Jahren erklären, als der Pontifex Maximus in Gallien kämpfte. Ihm konnte man wohl nicht den Vorwurf machen, den Kalender manipuliert zu haben; es wäre wichtig zu wissen, ob die Gegner Caesars die Möglichkeiten der Interkalation ihrerseits dazu benutzt haben, Caesars Interessen in diesen Jahren zu schädigen³⁰. Caesars spätere Vorwürfe gegen die Pontifices bei der Begründung seiner Reform legen die Vermutung nahe, daß er selbst Wert legte auf die Feststellung, seine Pflichten als Pontifex Maximus nicht vernachlässigt zu haben³¹.

Den meisten Zeitgenossen aber war die Kalender-Verwirrung der fünfziger Jahre ganz gleichgültig³², und Ciceros Verbesserungsvorschlag in 'de legibus' zeigt nur, wie man sich in Optimaten-Kreisen eine Korrektur des Kalenders vorstellen konnte — wenn man sich dieser marginalen Aufgabe überhaupt stellte. Von einer Neuberechnung des Jahres wie später bei Caesar ist nicht die Rede, sondern von einer Rückkehr zu Numas angeblich geschickt ausgedachtem Kalender. Cicero schreibt³³:

Die Gliederung des Jahres muß die Feiertage und Feste auf die Vollen-
dung der ländlichen Arbeiten beziehen. Damit bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt die
Gaben für die Opfer und der Nachwuchs der Haustiere, die im Gesetz

³⁰ Im *Bellum Gallicum* gibt es keine Andeutung darüber. T. FRANK, *CR* 33 (1919), S. 68 f. (s. auch M. CARY, *loc.cit.*, S. 109) hat vermutet, daß Pompeius im Laufe der Verhandlungen kurz vor Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges Interkalationen zur Verlängerung von Caesars Statthalterschaft angeboten hat, doch ist das schwer beweisbar (zu Cic., *Fam.* VIII 11.3; s. auch Shackleton Baileys Kommentar z. St.).

³¹ Wenn in den erhaltenen Begründungen für die Reform, etwa bei Suet., *DJ* 40.1, die *intercalandi licentia* gerügt wird, muß das ursprünglich Caesars eigene Kritik am Verhalten seiner Kollegen gewesen sein. Caesar legte großen Wert auf die mit dem Amt des Pontifex Maximus verbundenen äußeren Ehren, und es spricht viel dafür, daß er auf die Erfüllung seiner amtlichen Pflichten achtete; jedenfalls scheint er sie nicht mutwillig mißachtet zu haben. Vgl. auch H.D. JOCELYN, *BRL* 65 (1982), S. 161 f.

³² Bezeichnend ist M. Caelius' beiläufige Bemerkung über Curios Interkalations-Antrag (ap. Cic., *Fam.* VIII 6.5). Viele waren in religiösen Fragen gleichgültig; Augustus fand 82 Tempel in schlechtem Zustand vor (*RG* 20.4). Ser. Sulpicius Rufus cos. 51 schrieb ein Buch *de sacris detestandis* (Gell., *NA* VII 12.1). Es gab allerdings auch fromme Aristokraten wie C. Scribonius Curio cos. 76, L. Iulius Caesar cos. 64 oder Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos. 54, die über solche Dinge anders gedacht haben mögen. Vgl. A. MOMIGLIANO, *JRS* 30 (1940), S. 76.

³³ *de leg.* II 29 (übersetzt von K. Büchner): *Quod ad tempus — sc. feriarum festorumque dierum — ut sacrificiorum libamenta servantur, fetusque pecorum quae dicta in lege sunt, diligenter habenda ratio intercalandi ratio est, quod institutum perite a Numa, posteriorum pontificum negligentia dissolutum est.*

genannt sind³⁴, bewahrt werden können, muß man sorgfältig die Übung des Schaltens festhalten, eine Einrichtung, die, von Numa kundig verfügt³⁵, durch die Nachlässigkeit der späteren Pontifices in Unordnung geraten ist³⁶.

Zu Ciceros behutsamen Reformvorschlag ist auf jeden Fall die von Caesar im Jahre 46 vertretene Form der Kalender-Berichtigung eine Gegenposition. Er nahm den Pontifices ein für allemal die Freiheit, nach eigenem Gutdünken zu schalten³⁷. Diese sozusagen 'populare' Tradition im Umgang mit den Privilegien der Pontifices wird repräsentiert schon durch M. Flavius' Veröffentlichung der Fasten im Jahre 304 v.Chr.³⁸ Hierhin gehört wohl auch die These von C. Gracchus' Freund Iunius Congus, daß sich der volksfreundliche König Servius Tullius als erster um eine Korrektur des mangelhaften Kalenders gekümmert habe³⁹. Im 1. Jahrhundert ist P. Clodius' Umgang mit dem Kalender von auffälliger Rücksichtslosigkeit⁴⁰. Einmal ganz abgesehen von Clodius' Agitation zeigt Ciceros Vorschlag in 'de legibus', daß es spätestens in den fünfziger Jahren eine Diskussion über die Vor- und Nachteile des bestehenden Kalenders gab. Caesars Reform im Jahre 46 traf Cicero und seine Freunde also nicht aus heiterem Himmel⁴¹.

³⁴ Vgl. *de leg.* II 19.

³⁵ *perite* — ein Rest der gelehrten Diskussion über die früheste Schaltung im römischen Kalender ist bei Macr., *Sat.* I 13.20-21 erhalten. Nicht alle Antiquare wären mit Ciceros Wertung einverstanden gewesen. Eine ähnliche hohe Bewertung von Numas Kalender gibt allerdings Livius (Anm. 41). Vielleicht ist der 24jährige, sehr genaue Schaltzyklus (Anm. 11) mit Numa in Verbindung gebracht worden.

³⁶ H. DÖRRIE, *C & M* 9 (1973) (= Festschrift F. Blatt), S. 233 weist darauf hin, wie sparsam mit Kritik Cicero sonst in *de legibus* gewesen ist. Vergleichbare Vorhaltungen hat wohl auch Varro in den *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* (ap. Aug., *Civ.Dei* VI 2) gemacht.

³⁷ Bei Cicero gehört die Kalenderreform eindeutig in den sakralen Bereich und wahrt die Vorrechte der Pontifices.

³⁸ Vgl. Cic., *Att.* VI 1.8; Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 31 Anm. 35a; A.K. MICHELS, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 109 ff.

³⁹ Macr., *Sat.* I 13.20: *Iunius Servium Tullium regem primum intercalasse memorat*. Zur Person von M. Iunius Congus Gracchanus (art. *Iunius*, in *RE* X 1 (1917), Sp. 1031-1033, Nr. 68) vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte* II, Berlin 1903⁹, S. 456 f. sowie B. ZUCCHELLI, *StudUrb* 49,1 (1975), S. 109-126. Wenn von C. Gracchus keinerlei Vorschlag zur Korrektur oder zur Kontrolle des Kalenders überliefert wird, so ist dies vielleicht ein Indiz für die damalige Korrektheit des Kalenders (s. auch Anm. 15).

⁴⁰ Cic., *Sest.* 33: *lex lata est... ut omnibus fastis diebus legem ferri liceret, ut lex Aelia, lex Fufia ne valeret*. S. dazu A.K. MICHELS, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 94 ff. Die zehn neuen Tage in Caesars späterem Kalender (Anm. 84) waren keine *dies comitiales*.

⁴¹ Livius' Darstellung von Numas Kalender (I 19.6-7) weist auf Spekulationen über eine «bessere» Anwendung des alten Kalenders hin, möglicherweise aus Valerius Antias. Vgl. dazu J.D. CLOUD, *LCM* 4 (1979), S. 65-71.

IV

Wenn Caesar demnach auch nicht der einzige gewesen ist, der sich Gedanken über die Verbesserung des Kalenders machte, so war er doch mit Sicherheit der erste Pontifex Maximus, der die Berechnungen griechischer Kalender-Spezialisten mehr oder weniger verständnisvoll nachprüfen und seinen eigenen Vorstellungen anpassen konnte.

Caesar ist innerhalb der römischen Führungsschicht einer der wenigen gewesen, die von den exakten Wissenschaften mehr verstanden als es üblich war. Der Vergleich mit Cicero ist instruktiv. Cicero war in der Lage, das Lehrgedicht des Aratos über die Himmelserscheinungen zu verstehen und zu übersetzen; seine umfassende Bildung reichte aber nicht so weit, daß er bei seinen geographischen Studien etwa von den mathematisch orientierten Handbüchern hätte Gebrauch machen können, die Atticus ihm geschickt hatte⁴². Das war nichts für Konsulare, sondern für griechische Spezialisten.

Caesar hat im Rahmen der auch von ihm eingehaltenen senatorischen Konventionen ein viel selbständigeres Interesse an wissenschaftlichen Problemen gehabt⁴³. Er hatte offenbar den Ehrgeiz, als Römer auch auf den Gebieten etwas zu leisten, die üblicherweise den Griechen zugewiesen waren. Caesar ließ die griechischen Philosophen und Wissenschaftler viel weniger nahe an sich heran als andere römische Große — er hat sie in erster Linie eingesetzt zur Erfüllung seiner Aufträge⁴⁴.

⁴² Cic., *Att.* II 4.1: *Fecisti mihi pergratum quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti; ex quo quidem ego, quod inter nos liceat dicere, millesiman partem vix intellego*; vgl. *Att.* II 6.1.

⁴³ Wenn andere Standesgenossen Gelegenheitsdichtungen schrieben, konzipierte er sein Werk *De analogia*. Männer wie C. Sulpicius Galus cos. 166 (Anm. 14), der astronomisch interessierte Q. Aelius Tubero (art. *Aelius*, in *RE* I 1, 1893, Sp. 535-537, Nr. 155; vgl. Plin., *NH* XVIII 235 und dazu O. CUNTZ, in *Stromateis*, Graz 1909, S. 49-57) und der Mathematiker Sex. Pompeius (art. *Pompeius*, in *RE* XXI 2, 1952, Sp. 2059-2060, Nr. 18; vgl. Cic., *Brut.* 175) sind die Ausnahme von der Regel. Zum Typus des römischen Wissenschaftlers vgl. H. DAHLMANN, *HG* 6 (1931), S. 185-192 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Hildesheim 1970, S. 1-8).

⁴⁴ Die wirklichen Vertrauten Caesars sind nicht Griechen, sondern Männer wie C. Cornelius Balbus (art. *Cornelius*, in *RE* IV, 1901, Sp. 1260-1268, Nr. 69) aus Gades, oder, auf einer niedrigeren Ebene, sein erster Kanzleichef Pompeius Trogus, der Großvater des Historikers (Just. XLIII 5.12). Einer der wenigen Griechen in Caesars Nähe scheint der Mythograph C. Julius Theopompus (vgl. O. HIRSCHFELD, *JHS* 7, 1886, S. 286-290) gewesen zu sein. Wenn die griechischen Lehrer und Philosophen auch in kulturpolitischer Hinsicht gefördert werden sollten (vgl. Suet., *DJ* 42.1; H.D. JOCELYN, *BRL* 59, 1976-1977, S. 350), so findet sich in der erhaltenen Überlieferung doch nur eine einzige Stelle mit einem Bericht über die Begegnung Caesars mit einem Philosophen (vgl. Ael., *var.hist.* VII 21 über Ariston v. Alexandria). Welcher Profession mögen die in Novum Comum angesiedelten 500 Griechen (Strab. V 1.6) gewesen sein?

Caesars intellektuelles Selbstbewußtsein läßt sich an den ethnographischen Abschnitten seines Berichts über die Feldzüge in Gallien ablesen. Wenn er im VI. Buch des 'Bellum Gallicum' durch die nur beiläufige Erwähnung des Eratosthenes und das Verschweigen anderer Kenner des europäischen Nordens, z.B. des Pompeius-Freundes Poseidonios, so großen Wert auf die eigene Erkundung bisher unbekannter Gebiete gelegt hat⁴⁵, so nahm er damit eine Aufgabe für sich in Anspruch, die man bisher griechischen Reisenden im Gefolge der römischen Magistrate zugeteilt hatte. Caesar hatte keinen Griechen in seinem Lager, der dem römischen Publikum über die neu unterworfenen Völker und ihre Sitten berichten sollte. Das machte er lieber selbst⁴⁶. Während der Kämpfe in Gallien konkurrierte Caesar nicht nur mit Pompeius, sondern zugleich — wenn vielleicht auch nur als Dilettant — mit Pytheas, mit Eratosthenes, mit Poseidonios⁴⁷.

Ciceros Reformvorschlag in 'de legibus' erlaubt die Annahme, daß es in den fünfziger Jahren eine Diskussion über die Berichtigung des Kalenders gab. Eigene Überlegungen Caesars für eine künftige Reform lange vor dem Bürgerkrieg sind damit aber noch nicht bewiesen.

Es gibt kein Zeugnis für konkrete Kalenderpläne Caesars aus der Zeit vor dem Bürgerkrieg, und nicht ohne Grund. Ihm mußte die Bedingung jeder gründlichen Reform des römischen Kalenders bewußt sein: zur Durchsetzung einer solchen Reform bedurfte man der ganzen Macht im Staat⁴⁸. Da Caesar in den fünfziger Jahren wohl kaum eine Vorstellung von seiner späteren Machtfülle gehabt hat, steht schon diese äußere

⁴⁵ Caes., *Bell.Gall.* VI 24.2: ... *ea quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant)...*

⁴⁶ Pompeius hatte diese Aufgabe Theophanes von Mytilene (*FGrHist* 188) überlassen. S. auch Ed. NORDEN, *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania*, Stuttgart 1923³, S. 99.

⁴⁷ Vgl. *Bell.Gall.* V 13.4 über die geographische Länge von Britannien und den benachbarten Inseln; H. BERGER, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, Leipzig 1880, S. 150. S. auch P. STEINMETZ, *Philologus* 111 (1967), S. 238 zu Tac., *Agr.* 12.3. Es ist keine bloße Literatenerfindung, wenn Caesar in Lucans 'Pharsalia' davon spricht, einen besseren Kalender als Eudoxos von Knidos konstruieren zu wollen (Anm. 56).

⁴⁸ Vgl. Curios Schwierigkeiten mit seinen Kollegen (Anm. 25). Ein zusätzliches Problem, das vor dem Beginn der Arbeit an der Reform vielleicht noch nicht erkennbar war, bildeten die zehn neuen Tage des schließlich eingeführten Kalenders (Anm. 84): darüber mußte entweder der Senat oder ein Dictator entscheiden (Anm. 66). Die langsame Durchsetzung der gregorianischen Reform des Jahres 1582 erklärt sich unter anderem dadurch, daß der Papst nur geringe weltliche Macht besaß.

Bedingung der manchmal vertretenen Ansicht im Wege, die Reform des Jahres 46 sei von langer Hand geplant gewesen⁴⁹.

Es gibt aber auch noch andere Hinweise dafür, daß Caesars Reform relativ schnell und ohne präzise Vorstudien ausgearbeitet wurde, sobald nur die Rücksicht auf das Kollegium der Pontifices fallengelassen werden konnte. Plutarch berichtet von der Berufung einer Kommission von Spezialisten für die Berechnung des neuen Kalenders, leider ohne Angabe von Ort und Datum⁵⁰. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt muß Caesar sicher gewesen sein, eine Änderung ganz in seinem Sinne durchsetzen zu können. Vor Pompeius' Tod im September 48 wird dies schwerlich der Fall gewesen sein.

Daß in der Tat keine ausgefeilten Vorarbeiten für die von Caesar dann ausgewählte Methode der Kalenderverbesserung zur Verfügung standen, lassen auch die Schwierigkeiten von Caesars wichtigstem Berater in dieser Frage, Sosigenes, vermuten. Er hat sich in insgesamt drei aufeinanderfolgenden Schriften über die Berechnung des Kalenders geäußert und sich dabei stets korrigieren müssen⁵¹.

Von einem Teil der Überlieferung werden Caesars Kalenderstudien mit seinem Aufenthalt in Ägypten im Jahre 47 zusammengebracht⁵². Mindestens die wissenschaftlichen Berater Caesars müssen von der Kalenderreform gewußt haben, die Ptolemaios III. im Jahre 238 durchzuführen versucht hatte; es handelte sich dabei um die Vorwegnahme der caesarischen Jahrform mit dem alle vier Jahre einzusetzenden Schalttag⁵³.

⁴⁹ Vgl. in diesem Sinne G. RADKE, *RhM* 106 (1963), S. 313 f. sowie Ders., *Archaisches Latein*, Darmstadt 1981, S. 157; s. auch W. KUBITSCHKE, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 99. Nach Lucan (Anm. 56) beschäftigt sich Caesar *media inter proelia* mit astronomischen und kalendarischen Fragen — ob Lucan damit auch die Kämpfe in Gallien gemeint hat?

⁵⁰ Plut., *Caes.* 59.5: Καίσαρ δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ μαθηματικῶν τὸ πρόβλημα προθεῖς...

⁵¹ Plin., *NH* XVIII 212: *et Sosigenes ipse trinis commentationibus — quamquam diligentior ceteris (sind damit andere Kommissionsmitglieder gemeint?) — non cessavit tamen addubitare ipse semet corrigendo*. L. IDELER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 125 bezieht Sosigenes' Selbstzweifel auf die Berechnung des «richtigen» 1. Januar des ersten caesarischen Jahres (Anm. 78); es ist auch schwer vorzustellen, welches andere Problem Sosigenes so verunsichern konnte. Die falsche Schaltung nach Caesars Tod (Anm. 91) könnte unter Umständen auch mit diesen drei Schriften zusammenhängen. Die Berater Papst Gregors verfaßten höchst umfangreiche und komplizierte Schriften zur nachträglichen Erläuterung der Reform.

⁵² App., *BC* II 154.647 f. (im Zusammenhang des abschließenden Vergleichs mit Alexander dem Großen, nicht innerhalb des historischen Berichts); Dio XLIII 26.1-3; Macr., *Sat.* I 14.3 und 16.39.

⁵³ *OGIS* 56, Z. 40-46; vgl. die Erläuterung von F.K. GINZEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 196-200 sowie zum Gesamtzusammenhang der Inschrift Fr. DUNAND, in *Livre du Centenaire*

Caesar hat über dieses ptolemäische Vorbild, sollte es wirklich eine Anregung gegeben haben, allerdings nicht viele Worte verloren⁵⁴. Der ihm freundlich gesonnene Teil der Überlieferung betont geradezu seine Selbständigkeit im Umgang mit den Wissenschaftlern⁵⁵. Und Lucan, der Caesars Eitelkeit kennzeichnen will, legt ihm sehr selbstbewußte Worte über seine astronomischen Studien in den Mund, wenn er ihn von seinem Ehrgeiz sprechen läßt, mit Eudoxos von Knidos konkurrieren zu wollen⁵⁶.

Nachweislich mit der Kalenderarbeit beschäftigt finden wir Caesar also erst bei der Ernennung der erwähnten Kommission, die Vorschläge für eine sofort durchzuführende Reform vorlegen sollte. Es spricht viel dafür, daß Caesar diese wichtige Arbeit in Rom selbst hat ausführen lassen⁵⁷. Die Zusammensetzung der Kommission ist mit Ausnahme des Sosigenes unbekannt; jedenfalls ist Sosigenes nicht der einzige Helfer Caesars gewesen. Daß er ein Wissenschaftler aus Alexandria war, mag wahrscheinlich sein, läßt sich aber nicht beweisen⁵⁸. Römische Spezial-

1880-1980 de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, Kairo 1980, S. 287-301. Ob die Initiative von Ptolemaios persönlich (und griechischen Beratern?) oder von einem Teil der ägyptischen Priesterschaft ausging, läßt sich nicht sagen. Ptolemaios scheiterte jedenfalls am Widerstand der Priesterschaft gegen jede Kalenderänderung. In den Germanicus-Scholien ist ein Bericht des Nigidius Figulus (p. 124 Swoboda; vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* [Anm. 3], S. 258 f.) erhalten, daß der neue Pharao bei seiner Thronbesteigung schwören mußte, den Kalender unverändert zu lassen — vielleicht ein Indiz dafür, daß es mehrere Versuche im Stil von Ptolemaios III. gegeben hat. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß sich Nigidius Figulus für solche Fragen im Rahmen der Kalender-Diskussion vor dem Bürgerkrieg interessierte; den römischen Pontifices konnte die Haltung der ägyptischen Kollegen gefallen.

⁵⁴ Bei Amm. Marc. XXVI 1.13 sind die Griechen Caesars (bzw. Augustus' — s. Anm. 127) Anreger (*Graecos secutus*). In den Berner Scholien zu Luc., *Phars.* X 187 werden die Chaldäer als Vorbilder genannt: *est autem liber fastorum divi Iulii Caesaris qui ordinationem continet anni secundum auctoritatem compositus Chaldaeorum, quem in senatu recitavit*.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Plut., *Caes.* 59.1-5 — Plutarchs Quelle für diesen Abschnitt ist keinesfalls Livius (Anm. 199). Ganz allein handelt Caesar bei Suet., *DJ* 40.1-2.

⁵⁶ Luc., *Phars.* X 185-187 (Caesar will dem weisen Acoreus zeigen, daß er der Belehrung über die Geheimnisse des Nils wert sei): *media inter proelia semper / stellarum caelique plagis superisque vacavi, / nec meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus*. Der Vergleich mit Eudoxos bezieht sich, wie auch der Berner Scholiast erkannt hat, auf die Zahl der Jahre für einen vollständigen Zyklus: *Eudoxus post VIII annum solem in cursum suum dixit reverti, Caesar post quinquennium, quo peracto bissextum esse praecepit*. Zu Eudoxos' Octaeteris s. auch Cens. 18.5.

⁵⁷ Der Zusammenhang bei Plutarch — die letzten großen Projekte — weist ohnehin auf Caesars Wirken in Rom. Die Kombination des neuen Kalenders mit einem Witterungsverzeichnis (Anm. 95) und die Berechnung der Wintersonnenwende (Anm. 78) erforderten eigentlich astronomische Beobachtungen in Rom und Italien.

⁵⁸ Zur Person s. A. REHM, art. *Sosigenes*, in *RE* III A 1 (1927), Sp. 1153-1157, sowie G.L. HUXLEY, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* XII (1975), S. 547. Es wäre interessant

listen für dieses Projekt scheint es nicht gegeben zu haben, vielleicht mit der einen Ausnahme des im Zusammenhang der Reform erwähnten M. Flavius, der zum Beraterstab der Pontifices gehört haben könnte⁵⁹. Die Pontifices selbst wurden offensichtlich nicht um Rat gefragt⁶⁰.

Der Beginn der Arbeiten fällt frühestens wohl in die Zeit der Rückkehr aus dem Osten⁶¹; ihr Abschluß ist spätestens in den Sommer des Jahres 46 zu datieren⁶². Ein wichtiges Detail aus der Durchführung der Reform ist die Nachricht, daß Caesar den Senat über den neuen Kalender unterrichtete⁶³. Er wollte sich wohl nicht dem Vorwurf ausset-

zu wissen, ob die Begegnung mit Sosigenes für Caesar ein wichtiger Impuls für die konkrete Aufnahme der Reform gewesen ist. Die Präzision der technischen Geräte, die damals zur Verfügung standen, verdeutlicht die im Meer bei Antikythera gefundene Rechenmaschine; s. dazu D. DE SOLLA PRICA, *Gears from the Greeks. The Antikythera Mechanism — A Calendar Computer from ca. 80 B.C.* (Transact. Am. Philos. Soc., N.S. 64, Part 7), Philadelphia 1974.

⁵⁹ Macr., Sat. I 14.2: *adnitente sibi M. Flavio scriba*. Als *scriba* könnte er ein *pontifex minor* gewesen sein (vgl. Liv. XXII 57.3). Zur Person s. auch Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte* III, Berlin 1904⁹, S. 567 Anmerkung. Die Bewunderer Caesars (Anm. 55) haben solche Mithilfe verschwiegen.

⁶⁰ Ciceros Reformvorschlag bezog sie dagegen ausdrücklich ein (Anm. 37). Nach den Iden des März stellte sich dann heraus, daß sie über die Prinzipien der Schaltung schlecht informiert waren (Anm. 91). Von den fünfzehn (?) damaligen Pontifices sind nur wenige namentlich bekannt; M. Aemilius Lepidus (art. *Lepidus*, in RE I 1, 1893, Sp. 556-561, Nr. 73), M. Iunius Brutus (art. *Iunius*, in RE X 1, 1917, Sp. 973-1020, Nr. 53), C. Octavius (art. *Iulius*, in RE X 1, 1917, Sp. 275-381, Nr. 132), P. Sulpicius Rufus (art. *Sulpicius*, in RE IV A 1, 1931, Sp. 849-850, Nr. 93) und Ti. Claudius Nero (art. *Claudius*, in RE III 2, 1899, Sp. 2777-2778, Nr. 254). Vielleicht gehörten auch C. Antonius (art. *Antonius*, in RE I 2, 1894, Sp. 2582-2584, Nr. 20) und Cn. Domitius Calvinus schon dazu. Vgl. die Liste von G.J. SZEMLER, art. *Pontifex*, in RE Suppl. XV (1978), Sp. 393 ff.

⁶¹ Caesar landete im September 47 in Tarent; vgl. M. GELZER, *Caesar. Der Politiker und Staatsmann*, Wiesbaden 1960⁶, S. 241.

⁶² Die Interkalation am Ende des Februar 707 varr. (= Dezember 47 v.Chr.; vgl. W. DRUMANN – P. GROEBE, *Geschichte Roms* III, Leipzig 1906, S. 817) muß keineswegs durch die Reform erklärt sein, da sie durch die von Sueton (DJ 40.2) erwähnte *consuetudo* begründet werden konnte. Problematisch war allein die Zahl der Tage über diesen gewöhnlichen Schaltmonat hinaus (Anm. 79). Da die Pontifices bisher ihre Schaltungen ganz kurzfristig ankündigen durften (Plut., *Caes.* 59.3), hat vielleicht auch Caesar von diesem «Privileg» Gebrauch gemacht. Ciceros Frage an Atticus vom 11. Juni 46: *quando iste Metonis annus venit?* (Att. XII 3.2) muß sich nicht unbedingt auf die Kalenderreform beziehen (vgl. Shackleton Baileys Kommentar z.St.).

⁶³ Dio XLIII 26.1-3; 27.1: καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐβουλευέτο, οὐτ' ἰδιογνωμονῶν οὐτ' ἰδιοβουλῶν ἐπραττεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πάσῃ αὐτῇ, ἐπεκοίνου. S. auch die Bemerkung in den Lucan-Scholien (Anm. 54). Zur Senatshoheit über den Kalender vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht* III, Leipzig 1888³, S. 1052. Die Einbeziehung des Senats kann zugleich als Kritik an den früher vom Senat geduldeten Manipulationen verstanden werden.

zen, den Kalender ganz aus eigener Machtvollkommenheit verändert zu haben. Damals wie später hat es offenbar keinen ernsthaften Kritiker gegeben, der die Berechtigung von Caesars Reform grundsätzlich in Zweifel zog⁶⁴.

Trotz der Bekanntmachung im Senat gab es aber weder einen Senatsbeschluß über den Kalender noch eine *lex Iulia*. Caesar hat dem Kalender durch ein Edikt⁶⁵ Rechtskraft verliehen, das er nicht in seiner Eigenschaft als Pontifex Maximus, sondern als Dictator erlassen hat⁶⁶. Wenn er den Kalender nicht durch eine *lex* sanktionieren ließ, wie so viele andere Teile seines Reformwerkes, so könnte das auch daran liegen, daß er gerade den neuen Kalender so eng wie möglich an seine Person binden wollte — ein durchaus monarchischer Zug. Caesar dürfte es zudem sehr eilig gehabt haben, weil gerade diese Reform so weit wie möglich an den Anfang seiner übrigen Reformen treten sollte, als deutlicher Einschnitt, vielleicht sogar als Beginn einer caesarischen Ära⁶⁷. Auch König Numa hatte sein politisches Werk angeblich mit der Einrichtung des Kalenders begonnen⁶⁸. Es verdient in diesem Zusammenhang Beachtung, daß Sueton den neuen Kalender ganz bewußt als erste Reform nennt und relativ ausführlich würdigt⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ Plut., *Caes.* 59.6 (Anm. 113) erwähnt nur anonyme Kritteilen und einen Scherz Ciceros über den Witterungskalender (Anm. 115). Allenfalls die falsche Schaltung nach Caesars Tod könnte eine Art Sabotage gewesen sein (Anm. 51). Die gregorianische Reform zog eine Fülle gegnerischer Flugschriften nach sich.

⁶⁵ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13 über die Form der Veröffentlichung des Kalenders: *edicto palam posito*. Anders als Augustus' spätere Vorschrift für die Schaltung (Anm. 126) waren Caesars Regelungen auf vergänglichem Material fixiert. Die Betonung von *palam* erklärt sich wohl durch die Geheimniskrämerei früherer Kalenderpolitik, gegen die sich z.B. M. Flavius im Jahre 304 gewandt hatte (Anm. 38).

⁶⁶ Bei Cens. 20.8 wird Caesar allerdings *pont.max.* genannt. Die Einführung der zehn neuen Tage (Anm. 84) war nur durch einen Dictator möglich, wenn Senat und Volksversammlung nicht darüber abstimmen sollten. Vgl. dazu G. HUBER, *Untersuchungen zu Caesars Oberpontifikat*, Diss. Phil. Tübingen 1971, S. 86 (gegen Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* [Anm. 26] II, S. 40 f.).

⁶⁷ Ein ausdrückliches Zeugnis dafür gibt es nicht, und St. WEINSTOCK, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, S. 196 f., deutet dieses möglichen Effekt nur an. Mit Caesar verbundene Ären sind für Syrien und für Lydien bezeugt (St. WEINSTOCK, *op.cit.*, S. 197).

⁶⁸ Vgl. Liv. I 19.6-7 und Plut., *Num.* 18.1-7. Wenn der in Kalenderfragen überhaupt nachlässige Ovid schreibt (*fast.* III 156): *Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit*, so ist das eine Untertreibung. Es könnte eine Tradition gegeben haben, die grundlegende politische Reformen mit Kalender-Einrichtungen verband; auch zu Solons Reformwerk scheint eine Kalenderregelung gehört zu haben, die allerdings von Aristoteles in der *Ath.Pol.* nicht erwähnt worden ist. Vgl. dazu F.K. GINZEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 378 f.

⁶⁹ Suet., *DJ* 40.1-2. Sein Interesse erklärt sich durch sein Werk *De anno Romanorum* (Anm. 76) und vielleicht auch dadurch, daß nach Suetons Meinung Caesars Reform in

Sosigenes erhielt den Auftrag, als Fachmann über die Reform zu schreiben⁷⁰. Caesar hat sich aber auch selbst an die Öffentlichkeit gewandt, mit seiner Schrift 'de astris'. Vielleicht wollte er damit die Unterstützung der Gebildeten unter seinen Gegnern für die Reform gewinnen⁷¹.

Sein Anteil am mehr naturwissenschaftlichen Teil des Reformwerks ist schwer zu bestimmen, darf aber nicht unterschätzt werden. Er hat mehr getan, als nur seinen Namen herzugeben für die Rechenergebnisse anderer, wie später Papst Gregor. Plutarch überliefert, daß Caesar die letzte Entscheidung für den einzuschlagenden Weg selbst getroffen habe: der Dictator habe aus den ihm vorliegenden Entwürfen seine eigene Konzeption des neuen Kalenders 'gemischt'⁷².

V

Die Kenntnis der technischen Einzelheiten von Caesars neuem Kalender geht ursprünglich zurück auf Caesars Edikt, die davon wohl zu unterscheidende Schrift 'de astris' sowie die Schriften des Sosigenes. Die erhaltenen Nachrichten stammen nur zum geringeren Teil aus der historiographischen Tradition, wo die Reform, im Unterschied zu vielen anderen Neuerungen Caesars, allerdings immer günstig beurteilt wird. Bei Plutarch bedeutet die Kalenderreform geradezu die Krönung aller Bemühungen Caesars in der Spätzeit. Die wertvollste Überlieferung für den Kalender Caesars findet sich bei Plinius d.Ä.⁷³, bei Censorinus⁷⁴

vielen historischen Werken nicht angemessen gewürdigt wurde, z.B. bei Livius (Anm. 119). Bei Cassius Dio (XLIII 26.1-3) nimmt der neue Kalender keinen besonderen Platz ein.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Plin., *NH* XVIII 212 (Anm. 51). Es war ganz ungewöhnlich, daß ein «Ausländer» die Römer über ihren Kalender aufklärte.

⁷¹ Plin., *NH* 1, index auctorum I.XVIII: *auctoribus... Tarutius qui graece de astris scripsit, Caesare dictatore qui item*. Schrieb Caesar auf griechisch oder auf lateinisch? Vgl. Macr., *Sat.* I 16.39: *nam Iulius Caesar ut siderum motus, de quibus non indoctos libros reliquit, ab Aegyptiis disciplinis hausit, ita hoc quoque ex eadem institutione mutuatus est ut ad solis cursum finiendi anni tempus extenderet*.

⁷² Plut., *Caes.* 59.5: ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἤδη μεθόδων ἐμειξεν ἰδίαν τινὰ καὶ διηκριβωμένην μᾶλλον ἐπανόρθωσιν, ἣ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι δοκοῦσιν ἥττον ἐτέρων σφάλλεσθαι περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. Zum Motiv von Caesars Selbständigkeit s. oben Anm. 55.

⁷³ Plin., *NH* XVIII 211 ff.

⁷⁴ Cens., *de die natali* 20.8-12; zu dieser Schrift vgl. jetzt K. SALLMANN, *Hermes* 111 (1983), S. 233-248.

und bei Macrobius⁷⁵, die ihrerseits nicht auf dem primären Material fußen, sondern auf Suetons Schrift 'de anno Romanorum'⁷⁶.

Caesar verfolgte mit seiner Reform zwei Absichten. Zunächst ging es ihm darum, die Jahreszeiten des bürgerlichen Jahres wieder am Stand der Sonne zu orientieren. Sein zweites Ziel war es, die Einhaltung des Sonnenjahres durch richtige Schaltungen zu gewährleisten⁷⁷.

Caesar hatte den Ehrgeiz, diese beiden Ziele bereits für das dem Jahr seiner Reform folgende Neujahr zu erreichen. Es handelte sich hier also um eine Neuordnung des Kalenders auf einen Schlag, anders als alle früheren Pläne, etwa dem Ciceros. Dafür war es nötig, dem zum Zeitpunkt der Reform laufenden Jahr 708 varronischer Zählung so viele Tage hinzuzufügen, daß das nächste bürgerliche Neujahr des 1. Januar so genau wie möglich mit dem «natürlichen» Neujahr des Sonnenjahres zusammenfiel, das vermutlich definiert war durch den 1. Neumond nach der Wintersonnenwende⁷⁸.

Die Berechnungen der Kalender-Kommission ergaben, daß Caesar nach einer Interkalation von 23 Tagen im Februar noch einmal 67 zusätzliche Tage benötigte⁷⁹. Er verteilte sie mithilfe zweier überlanger Interkalations-Monate so geschickt, daß das während der Reform laufende Jahr 708 varronischer Zählung trotz dieser Einschaltungen mit

⁷⁵ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.1-15; vgl. G. WISSOWA, *De Macrobi Saturnaliorum Fontibus Capita Tria*, Diss. Phil. Breslau 1880.

⁷⁶ Vgl. die Fragmente p. 149-177 Reifferscheid. Eine wichtige Quelle für ihn dürften die Schriften Varros (Anm. 121) gewesen sein. Macr., *Sat.* I 15.4 nennt *innumeri auctores* über den römischen Kalender.

⁷⁷ Wenigstens hier konnte die von Ptolemaios III. versuchte Reform (Anm. 53) ein Vorbild sein; der Ausgleich der Jahreszeiten war eine zusätzliche, für die Ägypter uninteressante Aufgabe.

⁷⁸ Die Verbindung der *bruma* (vgl. Serv., *Aen.* VII 720) mit dem folgenden ersten Neumond wird nahegelegt durch die sonst unerklärten Worte bei Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13: *habitis ad lunam dimensionibus*; s. dazu L. IDELER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 122 f. Zur Lesart *ad limam*, die J. Willis in seine Textausgabe aufgenommen hat, vgl. Ph.E. HUSCHKE, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 120 sowie H. MATZAT, *Hermes* 23 (1888), S. 62 f. Der römische Jahresbeginn am 1. Januar (vgl. Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 19 p. 268 C-D) ist bereits vorcaesarisch, wie durch die *Fasti Antiatres Maiores* (*ILLRP* 9) bewiesen wird. Ein «natürliches» Neujahr gibt es nicht; vgl. M.P. NILSSON, art. *Neujahr*, in *RE* XVII 1 (1936), Sp. 148-152.

⁷⁹ Dio XLIII 26.1 — Dios Ausführungen zeigen, daß bereits bei den Zeitgenossen und in den ersten darstellenden Quellen Unklarheiten über diese Zahl bestanden. Die Ermittlung der 67 Tage war das Hauptproblem für Caesars Astronomen, und ihre Schwierigkeiten, z.B. bei der exakten Datierung der *bruma* (vgl. Geminus 5.29-30), begründen wohl Sosigenes drei *commentationes* (Anm. 51). Aus der Addition von drei Schaltmonaten (22 + 23 + 22) wird die Zahl 67 erklärt von W. SOLTAU, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 149 und von P. GROEBE, *op.cit.* (Anm. 62), S. 777. Caesar legte allerdings Wert auf zwei Schaltmonate (Anm. 80).

dem alten Dezember endete⁸⁰. Diesem verlängerten Jahr, dem *annus confusionis ultimus*⁸¹, schloß sich der caesarisch korrekte 1. Januar 709 varronischer Zählung unmittelbar an. Die von Plutarch benutzte Quelle betont denn auch die Eleganz der von Caesar und seinen Beratern gefundenen Lösung⁸². Etwas erleichtert wurde die Durchführung dieser ehrgeizigen Reform durch den Umstand, daß Caesar für die Erreichung seines Zieles zusätzliche Tage brauchte. Papst Gregors spätere Schwierigkeiten erklären sich auch dadurch, daß er im Jahre 1582 zehn Kalendertage zu streichen hatte⁸³.

Das neue, an der Sonne orientierte Jahr hatte zehn Tage mehr als das herkömmliche Jahr von 355 Tagen. Diese zusätzlichen Tage wurden von Caesar so auf die zwölf Monate des Jahres verteilt, daß es zu keiner Änderung der Rechtsstellung einzelner Tage und der Position von Festtagen innerhalb der Monate kam. Gegenüber der Öffentlichkeit wurde die Rücksicht auf sakrale Konventionen offenbar sehr betont⁸⁴; dieses Entgegenkommen war eine Grundbedingung für den Erfolg der Reform, die Caesar bewußt gewesen sein muß⁸⁵. Für die Beurteilung der

⁸⁰ Die Tabelle bei W. DRUMANN – P. GROEBE, *op.cit.* (Anm. 62) III, S. 818 f. macht das anschaulich. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß keine Nachricht über den späteren Umgang mit den 67 Tagen erhalten ist. Wann feierten die damals Geborenen Geburtstag? Wie wurden damals abgeschlossene Geschäfte berechnet? Obwohl Caesar die Möglichkeit gehabt hätte, aus den 67 Tagen drei Schaltmonate zu machen (Anm. 79), entschied er sich für zwei besonders lange Monate, um so für die Zeit vom 1. März bis zum 31. Dezember varr. 708 auch wieder 12 Monate zu haben. Wenn diese beiden Schaltmonate zwischen November und Dezember eingelegt wurden, dürfte das durch den alten Festkalender zu erklären sein. Cicero datiert in einem Brief an Ligarius kommentarlos *a.d.V K.intercalaris priores* (*Fam.* VI 14.2).

⁸¹ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.3; diese wohl schon zeitgenössische Formulierung wird der Sorgfalt von Caesars Planung für dieses der neuen Zeitrechnung vorangehende Jahr eigentlich nicht gerecht.

⁸² Plut., *Caes.* 59.1: Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἡμερολογίου διάθεσις καὶ διόρθωσις τῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀνωμαλίας, φιλοσοφηθεῖσα χαριέντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τέλος λαβοῦσα, γλαφυρωτάτην παρέσχε χρεῖαν. Vgl. dagegen die Kritik an Numas Kalender *Num.* 18.1; Cicero und seine Freunde waren anderer Meinung als Plutarch (Anm. 35). Die procaesarische Deutung wird von Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 278 aufgenommen: «Die leichte Hand des großen Arztes hat auch im Kleinen sich nicht verleugnet».

⁸³ Vielerorts hatte man den Eindruck, die zehn Tage gingen wirklich «verloren»; vgl. F. STIEVE, *Der Kalenderstreit des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.*, *ABAW* 15 (1880), S. 34 f.

⁸⁴ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.6–12; Cens. 20.9; vgl. G. WISSOWA, *Hermes* 58 (1923), S. 381 f. Auch in der lex Urs. c. 64 (*ILS* 6087) wird Wert auf die Einhaltung der Festtage gelegt. Vielleicht hat Caesar auf seinen «Vorgänger» Numa hingewiesen (vgl. Macr., *Sat.* I 14.8) — eine geschickte Entgegnung auf seine Kritiker, die Numa andauernd im Munde führten (Anm. 35).

⁸⁵ Vgl. Cic., *QF* II 4.2 (vom März 56) über die Beachtung zweier *dies religiosi*, Grund genug für die Verschiebung einer Hochzeit. Der in der Literatur über die Kalenderreform

Spätzeit ist die Beobachtung interessant, daß er sich erst im Jahre 44 dazu verleiten ließ, den Charakter eines Tages zur Feier seines Geburtstages zu ändern⁸⁶. So etwas stand im Jahre 46 noch nicht zur Debatte.

Das neue Jahr war ungefähr ein Viertel Tag zu kurz, um ganz parallel mit der Sonne zu laufen⁸⁷. Caesar richtete deshalb einen Schalttag ein⁸⁸. Angesichts der widersprüchlichen Überlieferung muß es offen bleiben, ob bereits das Jahr 45 ein Schaltjahr war⁸⁹.

Die Eile der Kalenderarbeit im Jahre 46 und die fehlende Unterrichtung der doch auch in Zukunft für die Schaltung zuständigen Pontifices gehen daraus hervor, daß die für die Schaltung gewählte Formulierung nach den Iden des März gründlich mißverstanden worden ist. *Quarto quoque anno* sollte geschaltet werden, womit Caesar die Einfügung eines Schalttages «in jedem vierten Jahr» gemeint hatte⁹⁰. Die Pontifices interkalierten aber «alle drei Jahre» — aus Gründen, über die man nur spekulieren kann⁹¹. Innerhalb der nächsten 36 Jahre bis zur Korrektur

immer wieder erwähnte Nundinal-Aberglaube sei hier ausgeklammert, da er mit Sicherheit erst für das Jahr 41 v.Chr. bezeugt ist (Dio XLVIII 33.4). S. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 25; L. IDELER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 62 und 134.

⁸⁶ Er hat den dementsprechenden Ehrenantrag (vgl. App., *BC* II 106.442 f.; Dio XLIV 4.4) jedenfalls angenommen; s. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 63) III, S. 1052 f. St. WEINSTOCK, *op.cit.* (Anm. 67), S. 152 geht auf den kalendarischen Aspekt dieses Ehrenantrages nicht ein. Die Umbenennung des *Quintilis* in den *Julius* (Macr., *Sat.* I 12.34) wird von L. IDELER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) II, S. 134 als Kompliment für den Kalender-Reformer verstanden. Vgl. Varros Bemerkung in der *Ephemeris* (Anm. 121).

⁸⁷ Das wußten schon die Berater von Ptolemaios III. (Anm. 53).

⁸⁸ Vgl. W. KUBITSCHKE, art. *Bissextum*, in *RE* III (1899), Sp. 503; Macr., *Sat.* I 14.6; *CIL* VIII 6979 = *ILS* 4919.

⁸⁹ Die erhaltenen Zeugnisse vermitteln den Eindruck, daß die erste — und dann gleich fehlerhafte — Schaltung erst nach Caesars Tod ausgeführt worden ist, doch kann das noch kein Beweis sein. Die Frage ist durchaus wichtig für die Art der Planung, Durchführung und Sicherstellung der Kalenderreform. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 66 und 292 f. vertritt die These von Caesars Übernahme der (eudoxischen) antizipierenden Schaltung, mit Hinweis auf den Chronographen des Jahres 354 (*Chron.Min.* I, p. 56), der das Jahr 709 varr. als Schaltjahr bezeichnet.

⁹⁰ Suet., *DJ* 40.1; Cens. 20.10; Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13. Die erhaltenen Formulierungen lassen nicht deutlich erkennen, ob die Vorschrift öffentlich zugänglich war, so wie später die Korrektur des Augustus (Anm. 126).

⁹¹ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13; *nam cum oporteret diem qui ex quadrantibus confit quarto quoque anno confecto antequam quintus inciperet intercalare, illi quarto non peracto sed incipiente intercalabant*. Offenbar war in der technischen Anleitung für den neuen Kalender nirgends gesagt, welches denn nun das erste Schaltjahr sei. Noch die geringsten astronomischen Kenntnisse hätten für die Erkenntnis ausreichen müssen, daß vier caesarische Jahre um ziemlich genau einen Tag zu kurz waren und dieser fehlende Tag den vier Jahren eben hinzugefügt werden mußte; insofern ist das Problem der lateinischen Zählweise (vgl.

durch Augustus im Jahre 8 v.Chr. wurde dreimal zuviel geschaltet⁹².

Das neue römische Sonnenjahr, *annus Iulianus*⁹³, wurde ergänzt durch die Beigabe eines unter Caesars Namen veröffentlichten 'Parapegma', eines Witterungskalenders — am ehesten dem vergleichbar, was wir einen «Hundertjährigen Kalender» nennen⁹⁴.

Caesar gab am Lauf des Sonnenjahres entlang Daten über die Auf- und Untergänge wichtiger Sterne, die bestimmte, immer wiederkehrende Witterungsveränderungen anzeigen sollten. Eine ganze Reihe solcher Notizen des caesarischen Parapegma über die Aufteilung des Bauernjahres und die Witterungsveränderungen sind enthalten, besonders übersichtlich im XVIII. Buch der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, der Caesars römischen Witterungskalender allen anderen vorgezogen hat⁹⁵.

Mit der Ausarbeitung eines solchen Kalenders orientierte sich Caesar am Beispiel großer wissenschaftlicher Kalendermacher, an Männern wie Meton von Athen, der 432 v.Chr. als erster einen Witterungskalender aufgestellt hat⁹⁶, und auch an Eudoxos, den Lucan ihn als Konkurrenten nennen läßt⁹⁷. Vielleicht war die Berücksichtigung der Präzession, der

C.L. HOWARD, *CQ* 8, 1958, S. 6 f.) ohne Belang. Obstruktion der Reform durch die Pontifices ist nicht ganz auszuschließen, doch hieß der Pontifex Maximus immerhin M. Aemilius Lepidus. G. RADKE, *RhM* 103 (1960), S. 178-185, erklärt die Verwirrung durch Mißverständnisse mit dem Neujahrsansatz des Jahres 708 varr., dem *annus confusio-nis ultimus* (Anm. 81).

⁹² Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13: *hic error sex et triginta annis permansit, quibus annis intercalati sunt dies duodecim cum debuerint intercalari novem*. Die Übersicht bei A.E. SAMUEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 157 macht den Fehler anschaulich. Augustus' Korrektur: s. Anm. 125.

⁹³ Vgl. Cens. 20.11.

⁹⁴ Eine lesenswerte Erklärung gibt Geminus 17.1-49. Grundlegend für die Erforschung der antiken Parapegmata sind die Arbeiten von A. REHM, art. *Episemasiai*, in *RE* Suppl. VII (1940), Sp. 175-198; *Parapegmastudien* (ABAW, 19), München 1941; *Kalender und Witterungskunde im Altertum*, *NJAB* 4 (1941), S. 225-242; art. *Parapegma*, in *RE* XVIII 4 (1949), Sp. 1295-1366. Im naturwissenschaftlichen, meteorologischen Sinne sind die antiken Witterungsangaben von ganz geringem Wert; vgl. dazu G. HELLMANN, *Die Witterungsangaben in den griechischen und lateinischen Kalendern*, *Veröff.d.Kgl.Preußischen Meteorologischen Instituts* 196 (1917), S. 137-166.

⁹⁵ Plin., *NH* XVIII 214: *nos sequimur observationem Caesaris maxime: haec erit Italiae ratio...*; die erhaltenen Angaben aus Plinius und der übrigen Tradition sind abgedruckt in der Caesar-Ausgabe von B. KÜBLER, Bd. III, Leipzig 1896, S. 151-168. Zu Plinius' Wertschätzung gerade römischer Forschung s. G. GRÜNINGER, *Untersuchungen zur Persönlichkeit des älteren Plinius. Die Bedeutung wissenschaftlicher Arbeit in seinem Denken*, Diss. phil. Freiburg 1976, S. 92 ff.

⁹⁶ Vgl. W. KUBITSCHKE, art. *Meton*, in *RE* XV 2 (1932), Sp. 1458-1466; B. FEHR, *Hephaistos* 2 (1980), S. 115 ff.

⁹⁷ Vgl. F 129 ff. Lasserre (aus der '*Octaeteris*').

Bewegung der Erdachse um den Pol der Ekliptik, ein weiterer Grund für die Erstellung eines neuen, für lange Zeit gültigen Parapegmas⁹⁸.

Der Zweck solcher Verzeichnisse war es ursprünglich, die Anpassung des ja auch in Griechenland immer ungenauen bürgerlichen Jahres an den Lauf der Sonne zu ermöglichen⁹⁹. Auch für Rom gab es natürlich schon lange vor Caesar einen solchen Witterungskalender zum Privatgebrauch. Ein direkter Vorgänger Caesars war Varro, der seinem Freund Pompeius ein Witterungsverzeichnis für die Seefahrt gewidmet hat¹⁰⁰.

Die Angabe einzelner Sternphasen war abhängig vom Ort ihrer Beobachtung. Ein Sternbild ging in Alexandria zu einer anderen Zeit als in Rom auf. Wollte Caesar einen Witterungskalender erstellen, der seinem wissenschaftlichen Selbstgefühl entsprach, so konnte er nicht einfach Sternphasen aus der astronomischen Literatur übernehmen, die in Griechenland oder in Alexandria entstanden war. Sein Kalender mußte eigentlich auf Beobachtungen in Italien aufbauen, sollte er ähnlich zuverlässig sein wie das neue Sonnenjahr¹⁰¹. Es ist deshalb gar nicht überraschend, Caesar später bei Ptolemaeus neben den berühmten griechischen Astronomen als römischen Astronomen genannt zu finden, der Sternphasen in Italien beobachtet habe¹⁰². Plinius, dem es um die Behauptung der römischen gegenüber der griechischen Wissenschaft geht, vertritt eine ähnliche Auffassung. Wenn das in dieser Form auch übertrieben sein dürfte, steckt doch ein wahrer Kern in Ptolemaeus' Notiz. Caesar hat mit seiner Arbeit am Kalender die angewandte Astronomie in Rom heimisch gemacht¹⁰³.

⁹⁸ Die Präzession ist eine Entdeckung Hipparchos (ap. Ptol., *Syntaxis* VII 1; vgl. Bd. II, S. 3 f. der deutschen Übersetzung von Manitius). Alle Himmelsbeobachtungen sind nicht von ewiger Gültigkeit, sondern zutreffend nur ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον (Ptol., *Phas.* 7 = Lydus p. 207, 2 Wachsmuth).

⁹⁹ Die praktische Anwendung eines «Steckkalenders» verdeutlichen die Reste des in Milet gefundenen Parapegmas; vgl. H. DIELS und A. REHM, *SDAW* (1904), S. 92-111.

¹⁰⁰ *Ephemeris navalis ad Pompeium*; vgl. dazu H. DAHLMANN, in *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), Sp. 1253 f. Zum Bauernkalender Varros s. auch A. REHM, *Parapegmastudien* (Anm. 94), S. 113 ff. Ciceros Vertrautheit mit Witterungsangaben zeigt die Bemerkung *2Verr.* 5.27 über den Frühling.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. Geminus 17.19. Für solche Beobachtungen brauchte man Zeit, die Caesars Kommission gar nicht hatte. Die Genauigkeit der Parapegmantik ließ allerdings auch schon vor Caesar zu wünschen übrig.

¹⁰² Ptol., *Phas.* p. 67 Heiberg (= Lydus p. 275, 12 Wachsmuth).

¹⁰³ Schon die Veröffentlichungen des Sosigenes hoben sich ab von der früheren Diskretion in allen Kalender-Fragen (Anm. 51). Die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen von Caesars Reform waren seit langem bekannt; Caesar wendet sie aber auch tatsächlich für die Erneuerung des bürgerlichen Kalenders an.

Caesar setzte der Anwendung rein wissenschaftlicher Prinzipien allerdings auch Grenzen, um die Widerstände gegen die Reform gering zu halten. So lassen einige Angaben in Plinius' XVIII. Buch vermuten, daß Caesars Berater Sosigenes durchaus in der Lage gewesen ist, astronomisch korrekte Angaben über die einzelnen Jahrpunkte zu machen — gemeint sind damit die Wintersonnenwende, die Tag- und Nachtgleiche des Frühlings, die Sommersonnenwende sowie die Tag- und Nachtgleiche des Herbstes¹⁰⁴. Caesar hat im Unterschied zu seinem astronomischen Berater Wert darauf gelegt, die Jahrpunkte seines neuen Jahres, das doch zehn Tage mehr als das alte hatte, wie bisher auf den achten Tag vor den Kalenden (a.d.VIII Kal.) zu setzen. Die Abstände zwischen den einzelnen Jahrpunkten entsprachen damit sehr genau den Abständen des vorcaesarischen Kalenders und betonten die Kontinuität der römischen Zeitrechnung¹⁰⁵.

Durch die Einrichtung des Sonnenjahres für den bürgerlichen Kalender waren Caesars Sternphasen eigentlich überflüssig geworden. In Zukunft konnte man viel bequemer als früher wissen, wann die einzelnen Jahreszeiten und die Veränderung der Großwetterlagen erfahrungsgemäß eintreten würden — man brauchte sich nur noch, wie heute auch, am caesarischen Datum zu orientieren. Caesar hat seinen Zeitgenossen diesen Schritt, der ihm bewußt gewesen sein muß, nicht aufgezwungen. Sein Witterungskalender zeigt, daß er die alte Gewohnheit respektierte, sich an den Sternphasen zu orientieren¹⁰⁶.

In der landwirtschaftlichen Praxis ist die neue Rechnung aber wohl schon bald übernommen worden. Es gibt eine in Stein gehauene Liste der julianischen Monate mit den notwendigsten astronomischen Angaben, die aus dem 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr. stammen dürfte¹⁰⁷.

Die landwirtschaftliche Literatur hat die Vorzüge des neuen Kalen-

¹⁰⁴ Da Plin., *NH* XVIII 220-223 mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit auf eine Schrift des Sosigenes zurückgeht (vgl. A. REHM, in *Epitymbion Swoboda*, Reichenberg 1927, S. 224 f.; *Parapegmastudien* [Anm. 94], S. 50), zog er die hipparchischen Jahrpunkte vor, unter korrekter Berücksichtigung der Anomalie-Bestimmung, der ungleichen Abstände zwischen den Jahrpunkten, die sich durch die elliptische Bahn der Erde um die Sonne erklären. Für die astronomischen Werte s. H. GUNDEL, art. *Zodiakos*, in *RE* X A (1972), Sp. 486.

¹⁰⁵ Die Plazierung von Caesars Jahrpunkten geht hervor aus Colum. IX 14.12; vgl. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 64 Anm. 87.

¹⁰⁶ Gleichzeitig wurde die Gewöhnung an den neuen Kalender erleichtert.

¹⁰⁷ *CIL* I² p. 280 = *CIL* VI 2305 = *ILS* 8745 ('Menologium rusticum Colotianum'). Zur Erläuterung s. G. WISSOWA, *Römische Bauernkalender*, in *Apophoreton*, Berlin 1903, S. 29-51; A.L. BROUGHTON, *CPh* 31 (1936), S. 353-356 (über die geographische Zuordnung der landwirtschaftlichen Daten).

ders nicht sofort übernommen. Wenn Vergil in seinen *Georgica* bei den üblichen Datierungen bleibt, ist das literarisch verständlich, vielleicht aber auch durch die Distanz zu Caesar zu erklären¹⁰⁸. Zurückhaltung hat auch Varro geübt, der in seinen im Jahre 36 verfaßten Büchern *de re rustica* nur selten die alten Daten in die 'jetzt bestehenden Kalendertage' umrechnet, *ad dies civiles nostros, qui nunc sunt*¹⁰⁹. Columella, der etwa 60 n.Chr. sein Werk über die Landwirtschaft schreibt, gibt zwar auch Sternphasen an, benutzt aber den julianischen Kalender als Gerüst. Nur noch julianisch, wie die heutigen Landwirte, datiert dann Palladius im IV.Jahrhundert¹¹⁰.

VI

Die Reaktion der Zeitgenossen auf Caesars Kalenderreform läßt sich in den Grundzügen noch beurteilen. Wirklich begrüßt wurde der neue Kalender allenfalls von einem kleinen Kreis von Wissenschaftlern und von denen, die Gefallen fanden an der Entmachtung der Pontifices. Die übergroße Mehrheit stand dem Kalender Caesars verständnislos oder ablehnend gegenüber. Cicero spricht in den siebziger Jahren in einem Ton von den Kalendertechniken der Griechen, der bei seinem Publikum solide Antipathie gegen die angebliche Leidenschaft der Griechen voraussetzen läßt, ihr bürgerliches Jahr durch unregelmäßige Schaltungen dem Sonnenjahr anzupassen¹¹¹. Bis zum Jahre 46 wird sich diese Haltung nicht geändert haben¹¹².

Aufschlußreich ist die Reaktion der erklärten Feinde Caesars auf eine

¹⁰⁸ Zu einer möglichen Reaktion Vergils auf die Kalenderreform s. Anm. 122.

¹⁰⁹ *Rust.* I 28.1; vgl. J.E. SKYDSGAARD, *Varro the Scholar. Studies in the First Book of Varro's De re rustica*, Kopenhagen 1968, S. 43 ff.

¹¹⁰ Vgl. K.D. WHITE, in *ANRW* I 4, Berlin-New York 1973, S. 489 f.

¹¹¹ Cic., *2Verr.* II 129 (über Syrakus): *est consuetudo Siculorum ceterorumque Graecorum, quod suos dies mensisque congruere volunt cum solis lunaeque ratione, ut non numquam, si quid discrepet, eximant unum aliquem diem aut summum biduum ex mense, quos illi exaeresimos dies nominant; item non numquam uno die longiorem mensem faciunt aut biduo* (es folgt der Bericht über eine Kalendermanipulation des Verres). Ciceros Worte legen die Vermutung nahe, daß der römische Kalender damals *cum solis lunaeque ratione* im wesentlichen übereinstimmte (vgl. Anm. 15).

¹¹² Die Italiker waren bekannt für ihre vielen verschiedenen Jahrformen (Cens. 20.1); vgl. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 217 ff.; sowie J. WHATMOUGH, *HSPh* 42 (1931), S. 157-179. In der Tempelordnung von Furfo aus dem Jahre 58 v.Chr. wird mit dem Monat *Flusaris* (= *Floralis*) datiert (*CIL* IX 3513 = *ILS* 4906). Die «Korrektur» auch der italischen Kalender am Maßstab der julianischen Jahrordnung wird Cens. 20.11 erwähnt.

Reform, deren Nützlichkeit und Kompetenz so schwer zu negieren war. Plutarch schreibt vom Neid und von der Krittellei derer, denen Caesars Machtstellung ohnehin zuwider war; für sie war die Durchführung der Reform nur ein weiterer Beweis für Caesars monarchische Stellung¹¹³.

Ein Punkt der Kritik läßt sich vermuten: Caesar verschaffte sich durch die zusätzlichen neunzig (oder siebenundsechzig) Tage eine erhebliche Verlängerung seiner im Prinzip ja noch befristeten Dictatur. Wollte man böswillig sein, so verhielt er sich gar nicht anders als jene, die früher zu ihren Gunsten das Jahr durch eine Interkalation verlängert hatten¹¹⁴.

Ciceros eigener Reformvorschlag aus den fünfziger Jahren in der Schrift 'de legibus' läßt spätere Kritik an Caesars Kalender ohnehin vermuten. Sein beredtes Schweigen über den Kalender in der Rede für Marcellus vom September 46, wo die Reform als Beispiel für Caesars staatsmännisches Wirken hätte genannt werden können, ist deshalb ganz unmißverständlich. Glücklicherweise gibt Plutarch auch ein konkretes Beispiel für die zeitgenössische Kritik aus dem Munde Ciceros¹¹⁵: «So soll der Redner Cicero jemandem, der zu ihm sagte 'Morgen wird die Leier aufgehen' geantwortet haben: 'Ja freilich, dem Edikt entsprechend'». Cicero hatte bemerkt, daß Caesar bei der Notierung des Aufgangs des Sternbilds Leier ein schwerer Fehler unterlaufen war. Schenkte man dem neuen Kalender Glauben, dann ging die Leier über Italien am 5. Januar des ersten caesarischen Jahres auf. In Wirklichkeit fiel der Frühaufgang der Leier für Rom auf den 6. November¹¹⁶. Wir treffen hier Cicero im Gespräch mit Gleichgesinnten am Beginn der neuen Zeitrechnung¹¹⁷. Es geht hier allerdings nicht um Kritik an den Prinzipien des Sonnenjahres, sondern um einen Fehler des Witterungs-

¹¹³ Plut., *Caes.* 59.6: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς βασκαίνουσι καὶ βαρυνόμενοις τὴν δύναντι αἰτίας παρεῖχε. Diese Haltung wurde dadurch erleichtert, daß Caesar den Kalender in seiner Eigenschaft als Dictator eingeführt hatte (Anm. 66).

¹¹⁴ Vgl. Anm. 26.

¹¹⁵ Plut., *Caes.* 59.6: Κικέρων γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὡς ἔοικε, φήσαντός τινος αὐρίου ἐπιτελεῖν Λύραν, «ναί» εἶπεν, «ἐκ διατάγματος», ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνάγκην τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεχομένων.

¹¹⁶ Vgl. F. BOLL, art. *Fixsterne*, in *RE* VI 2 (1909), Sp. 2430 — nach der Berechnung von G. HOFFMANN, *Über die bei griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern erwähnten Auf- und Untergänge der Sterne*, Progr. Triest 1879, S. 25. S. auch A.W. HOLLEMANN, *Historia* 27 (1978), S. 496-498.

¹¹⁷ Ärgerte sich Cicero vielleicht auch darüber, daß solche Daten, anders als früher, jetzt im offiziellen Kalender standen? Später verschwinden diese Angaben aus den Steinkalendern, mit Ausnahme der *Fasti Venusini* (*CIL* I² p. 22 of.) und der *Fasti Antiates* (*CIL* I² p. 248 f.).

kalenders — ein Beispiel für allzu schnelle Arbeit an der Kalenderreform¹¹⁸.

Ciceros Spott über den Befehlscharakter des neuen Kalenders trifft vermutlich eine damals weit verbreitete Stimmung. Sein eigener Vorschlag aus den fünfziger Jahren wäre sicher auf breiterer Zustimmung gestoßen als Caesars schlagartige Änderung des überkommenen Kalenders, so plausibel sie auch war. Cicero und seine Freunde haben Caesars Werk zähneknirschend anerkannt und sich in spöttische Bemerkungen über den einen oder anderen Fehler gerettet. Es ist sehr bezeichnend, daß Cicero nach den Iden des März, als er so gerne über Caesars tyrannische Sünden sprach, immerhin kein einziges Wort über den Kalender verloren hat.

Im Unterschied zu Plutarchs schon erwähntem Lob für Caesars Kalender war Livius' Behandlung des Themas reservierter. Die erhaltenen Teile seines Werkes erlauben die Vermutung, daß er die neue Zeitrechnung nicht gerade gepriesen hat¹¹⁹. Die geringe Betonung des Reformwerks ergibt sich auch daraus, daß sich in der von Livius abhängigen Tradition keine Spur der verlorenen Behandlung finden läßt¹²⁰. So zurückhaltend wie möglicherweise Livius scheint auch Varro gewesen zu sein; immerhin hat er die Reform nicht ausdrücklich kritisiert¹²¹. Daß Vergil keine

¹¹⁸ Vgl. M. GELZER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 61), S. 252 über seine gerühmte und gefürchtete *celeritas*. Die relative Gleichgültigkeit dieser Art von Parapegmata für die Praxis wird daraus deutlich, daß Caesars Fehler bei Ovid (*Fasti* I 316) und bei Columella (XI 2.97) wiederkehrt.

¹¹⁹ Die Darstellung von Numas Einrichtung des Kalenders (I 19.6-7) erinnert an Ciceros Lob für Numas Schaltung (Anm. 41). Bei der Erwähnung der Sonnen- und der Mondfinsternisse im 2. Jahrhundert interessiert er sich nicht für die Verschiebung der Jahreszeiten (Anm. 13 und 14). Grundlegend für die Frage des Verhältnisses von Livius zu Caesar ist H. STRASBURGER, *Livius über Caesar. Unvollständige Betrachtungen*, in: *Livius. Werk und Rezeption. Festschrift für Erich Burck zum 80. Geburtstag*, München 1983, S. 265-291.

¹²⁰ Vom Umfang her dürfte der Abschnitt über den Kalender nicht viel länger gewesen sein als Cassius Dios Behandlung des Themas (XLIII 26.1-3). Vielleicht ist Suetons relativ ausführlicher Abschnitt (*DJ* 40.1-2) ein Indiz für seine Ansicht, daß die Reform nicht immer angemessen gewürdigt worden sei.

¹²¹ Die Epoche nach Thapsus hat er in der Satire *Κοσμοτορὸν ἢ περὶ φθορᾶς κόσμου* (ap. Non. p. 224 M. s.v. *sanguis* = F 225 Bücheler) als Katastrophenzeit gekennzeichnet (s. auch O. REGENBOGEN, *Kleine Schriften*, München 1961, S. 301). Eine einzige Notiz aus der erhaltenen Überlieferung könnte als lobende Erwähnung der Reform gedeutet werden (ap. Prisc., *GL* II 256): *Varro in ephemeride: postea honoris virtutum causa Iulii Caesaris, qui fastus porrexit, mensis Iulius est appellatus* (vgl. Anm. 86). In der Schrift über die Landwirtschaft aus dem Jahre 36 wird die Reform kaum erwähnt und jedenfalls nicht ausdrücklich gelobt (Anm. 109). Censorinus' Quelle für die Kalenderreform ist entweder Varro oder Sueton (Anm. 76); für das alte römische Jahr ist Varro auf jeden Fall die Vorlage. Vgl. Varro ap. Macr., *Sat.* I 13.21 zur Geschichte der Interkalation.

Gelegenheit gesucht hat, Caesars Reform zu preisen, kann nicht überraschen¹²². Die römische Jurisprudenz allerdings muß den neuen Kalender sozusagen kommentarlos akzeptiert haben¹²³. Es ist erwähnenswert, daß weder in den Rechtsquellen noch anderswo Klagen über die doch notwendige Umstellung auf die neue Zeitrechnung faßbar sind¹²⁴.

Augustus hat sich die Kalenderreform, obwohl nur ein geringes Echo bei den Zeitgenossen feststellbar ist, ganz zu eigen gemacht. Die — reichlich späte — Entdeckung des Schaltungsfehlers im Jahre 8 v.Chr. und die folgende sachgerechte Korrektur hat er geschickt dazu benutzt, nun seinerseits als ein Neuordner der römischen Zeitrechnung in die Geschichte einzugehen¹²⁵. Anders als Caesar, der die Vorschriften für die Schaltung nur auf vergänglichem Material publiziert hatte, stellte Augustus Bronzetafeln mit der präzisierten Schalttags-Regelung auf¹²⁶. Es ist nicht unbedingt ein Versehen, wenn Augustus später bei Ammian in einem Exkurs über den römischen Kalender als der Schöpfer des gültigen Kalenders genannt wird. Genau das wird sich der Princeps gewünscht

¹²² Aeneas' Erwähnung der kalendarischen Unsicherheit von Anchises' Todestag (*Aen.* V 49-50) könnte ein verschwiegene Kompliment sein; die Scholiasten haben Aeneas' Worte jedenfalls mit der Kalender-Problematik in Verbindung gebracht.

¹²³ In der erhaltenen Überlieferung über den von Caesar geschaffenen Schalttag (Anm. 88) findet sich keine Erwähnung der Reform; vgl. die Zitate bei Th. MOMMSEN, *Zur Lehre vom Schalttag* (1859), in *Gesammelte Schriften* III, Berlin 1907, S. 327-334. S. auch Fr. SCHULZ, *Bracton as a Computist*, *Traditio* 3 (1945), S. 265-305 zur juristischen Problematik des Schalttages. Ein seltenes Beispiel für die vielen zu vermutenden Umrechnungen aus Daten des Bauernkalenders in die zuverlässige neue Jahresrechnung ist *Dig.* XLV 1.222.1 mit der Fristangabe *intra idus Septembres*, wo früher wohl die Pleiaden genannt worden wären; vgl. dazu U. MANTHE, *Die libri ex Cassio des Iavolenus Priscus*, Berlin 1982, S. 300 Anm. 188.

¹²⁴ Nirgends findet sich eine Bestimmung über die spätere Behandlung der 67 zusätzlichen Tage (Anm. 80). Ein Beispiel für Unklarheiten bei der Umstellung vom alten auf den neuen Kalender ist die Position der Saturnalien (Macr., *Sat.* I 10.2-4 und 23; vgl. G. WISSOWA, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, München 1904, S. 156 f.). Schwierigkeiten gab es auch bei der Berechnung von Geburtstagen aus der Zeit vor der Kalenderreform, wenn Jahrestage gefeiert werden sollten; vgl. W. SUERBAUM, *Chiron* 10 (1980), S. 330 ff.

¹²⁵ Suet., *Aug.* 31.2; Macr., *Sat.* I 14.13-15; nichts bei Censorinus, der nur die Umbenennung des *Sextilis* erwähnt (22.16). Wer den Fehler entdeckt hat, ist nicht überliefert; vielleicht war es ein Mann wie der Mathematiker Facundus Novus, der Augustus' im Jahre 9 v.Chr. eingeweihte Sonnenuhr konstruiert hat (Plin., *NH* XXXVI 72). Augustus korrigierte den Kalender in seiner Eigenschaft als Pontifex Maximus, anders als früher Caesar (Anm. 66). Dieses Amt hatte er seit dem Jahre 12 inne (*RG* 10.2).

¹²⁶ Macr., *Sat.* I 14.15: *et omnem hunc ordinem aerae tabulae ad aeternam custodiam incisione mandavit*. Vgl. auch Varro ap. Macr., *Sat.* I 13.21 über die *lex Pinaria* vom Jahre 472 v.Chr.

haben¹²⁷. Die jetzt in Rom wiedergefundene Sonnenuhr unterstreicht das Interesse des Augustus an einer genauen Zeitrechnung¹²⁸.

Die vorbehaltlose Anerkennung von Caesars Leistung durch die römische Wissenschaft erfolgte spätestens seit der Sanktionierung durch Augustus. Es ist kein geringes Kompliment, wenn bei Plinius die caesarische Astronomie eine vierte Schule bilden darf neben der chaldäischen, der ägyptischen und der griechischen¹²⁹. Und selbst Lucan, der Caesar-Feind, kann allenfalls seinen Ehrgeiz bei der Kalenderreform kritisieren, nicht aber den Kalender selbst¹³⁰.

VII

Für die Astronomen der Zeit war die Grundlage von Caesars Reform, der Rückgriff auf das Sonnenjahr für die Einteilung des bürgerlichen Jahres, alles andere als sensationell. Neu und überraschend war freilich der kühne Entschluß, die Exaktheit des Sonnenjahres nicht nur prinzipiell anzuerkennen, sondern auch für den bürgerlichen Kalender als Maß zugrunde zu legen. Kein Grieche und kein Römer ist vor Caesar auf die Idee einer zusammenfassenden Kalenderreform mithilfe des Sonnenjahres gekommen, und erst seit Caesar beginnen sich die vielen Vorzüge einer festen Jahresrechnung durchzusetzen¹³¹.

Wie Caesar im Jahre 46 seinen neuen Kalender begründet hat, ist nicht schwer zu erkennen. Er betonte die Einhaltung der Jahreszeiten und wies darauf hin, daß in Zukunft Manipulationen zugunsten einzelner Magistrate oder Steuerpächter unmöglich waren¹³². Welcher Optimat, welcher Bewunderer des alten Kalenders wollte Caesar hier stichhaltige

¹²⁷ Amm. Marc. XXVI 1.13. Wenn Augustus seine Kalenderkorrektur nicht in die *Res Gestae* aufnahm, erklärt sich das wohl dadurch, daß er die Einrichtung des Kalenders denn doch als die Leistung Caesars gelten ließ: *annus a Divo Iulio ordinatus* (Suet., *Aug.* 31.2).

¹²⁸ Plin., *NH* XXXVI 72; vgl. E. BUCHNER, *RM* 83 (1976), S. 319-365 und 87 (1980), S. 355-373 (wieder abgedruckt mit einem Nachwort über die Ausgrabung 1980-1981 als: E. BUCHNER, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus*, Mainz 1982).

¹²⁹ Plin., *NH* XVIII 211: *tres autem fuere sectae, Chaldaea, Aegyptia, Graeca. his addidit quartam apud nos Caesar dictator annos ad solis cursum redigens singulos Sosigene perito scientiae eius adhibito*.

¹³⁰ Luc., *Phars.* X 185-187 (Anm. 56). Lucans Caesar widerspricht der Ansicht Vergils über die naturwissenschaftliche Kompetenz der Römer (*Aen.* VI 849 f.).

¹³¹ Vgl. Ed. SCHWARTZ, *Kleine Schriften* I, Berlin 1938, S. 53. Als Vorgänger Caesars könnte allenfalls Ptolemaios III. (Anm. 53) betrachtet werden.

¹³² Vgl. die von Sueton gegebene Begründung der Reform (*DJ* 40.1); er macht sich Caesars Position zu eigen.

Vorwürfe machen, zumal er so großen Wert darauf gelegt hatte, die sakralen Elemente des alten Kalenders unangetastet zu lassen¹³³?

Die Hektik der politischen Spätzeit des Dictators ist auch bei dieser Reform spürbar — Caesar war nicht in der Lage, die richtige Schaltung für den neuen Jahreszyklus zu gewährleisten¹³⁴. Sollte er damals geglaubt haben, den Römern für alle Zeit ein wissenschaftlich völlig exaktes Jahr gegeben zu haben, so hat er sich geirrt. Sein Kalender war in 128 Jahren selbst bei korrekter Anwendung der Schaltung um einen Tag zu schnell¹³⁵ — ein Fehler, den dann Papst Gregor XIII. durch seine Kalenderreform im Jahre 1582 berichtigt hat¹³⁶.

Die aus heutiger Sicht naheliegende Vermutung, Caesar habe damals

¹³³ In Macrobius' Darstellung der neuen Jahresordnung (*Sat.* I 14.6-12) wird Caesars Rücksichtnahme betont (Anm. 84).

¹³⁴ Es war dabei in erster Linie sein Ziel gewesen, die *licentia intercalandi* (vgl. Suet., *DJ* 40.1) zu verhindern. Augustus hat im Jahre 8 nicht Caesars hier vielleicht fehlende Sorgfalt bis ins Detail hinein kritisiert, sondern die Inkompetenz des Priesterkollegiums unter Lepidus: *annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea negligentia conturbatum atque confusum, cursus ad pristinam rationem redegit* (Suet., *Aug.* 31.2).

¹³⁵ Das caesarische Jahr war gegenüber dem tropischen Jahr um etwa 11 Minuten zu lang (vgl. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* [Anm. 59] III, S. 567 Anmerkung); Hipparchs Berechnung, die dem wirklichen Wert ganz nahe kommt, ist überliefert bei Ptol., *Synt.* III 1 (I p. 207 Heiberg = I S.145 der deutschen Übersetzung von Manitius). Vielleicht hätte Augustus die Möglichkeit gehabt, Papst Gregors Vorschriften für die Schaltung über mehrere Jahrhunderte hinweg (Anm. 136) vorwegzunehmen; Dios Hinweis auf die leichte Ungenauigkeit des julianischen Kalenders (XLIII 26.3) zeigt, daß der Fehler spätestens im 2. Jahrhundert erkannt worden ist.

¹³⁶ Zur gregorianischen Reform vgl. F. RUHL, *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Berlin 1897, S. 223 ff.; sowie F.K. GINZEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) III, S. 252 ff. Damals wurde das Frühlingsäquinoktium, das vom Konzil von Nikaia (325 n.Chr.) auf den 21. März gesetzt worden war, durch die Auslassung von zehn Tagen (vgl. Anm. 83) wieder auf das alte Datum gebracht. Zusätzlich zur vierjährigen Schaltperiode wurde eine vierhundert-jährige errechnet, um den immer noch verbliebenen kleinen Fehler auszugleichen: in je 400 Jahren sollten drei Schalttage weggelassen werden. Nur diejenigen Jahrhundertwenden sind Schaltjahre, die durch 400 teilbar sind — 1600 und 2000, nicht aber 1700, 1800 und 1900. Auf diese Weise tritt erst in 3323 Jahren ein eintägige Differenz zwischen Kalender und Sonnenstand ein. Das Osterfest fällt weiterhin auf den Sonntag nach dem ersten Frühlings-vollmond. Die heutige Position der katholischen Kirche zur Frage einer festen Osterrechnung ist in einer Stellungnahme des II. Vatikanischen Konzils festgehalten; vgl. dazu *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Dokumente und Kommentare* I, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1966, S. 107 f.

Die letzte, vom breiten Publikum gänzlich unbemerkte «Kalenderreform» ist die seit 1976 erfolgte Umstellung des Wochenanfangs von Sonntag auf Montag — ein religiöses Kalenderproblem, dessen weltliche Mißachtung früher viel Unruhe verursacht hätte. Vgl. dazu W. SCHMITTHENNER, *Eine Neujahrsbetrachtung, Neue Deutsche Hefte* 152 (1976) 4, S. 884-889. Die sieben-tägige Woche ist nicht caesarischen, sondern östlichen und christlichen Ursprungs; s. F. BOLL, art. *Hebdomas*, in *RE* VII 2 (1912), Sp. 2547-2578.

einen ersten Schritt tun wollen auf dem Wege zu einer einheitlichen Zeitrechnung der Oikumene, ist nicht beweisbar¹³⁷. Wie für alle wichtigen Fragen der Spätzeit gibt es auch hierfür kein Selbstzeugnis Caesars. Die Zeitgenossen haben die Reform offenbar nicht in diesem Sinne interpretiert. Außerhalb Italiens ist der neue Kalender wohl nur im Westen des Reiches sofort zur maßgeblichen Zeitrechnung geworden¹³⁸; auch Augustus war bei der Verbreitung des julianischen Kalenders sehr zurückhaltend¹³⁹. Noch im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. muß Galen seinen griechischen Lesern die Vorzüge eines einheitlichen Kalenders erklären¹⁴⁰.

Nach der Aussage eines seiner loyalsten Freunde hat Caesar die vielen Probleme, die die Neuordnung Roms stellte, nicht bewältigt¹⁴¹; wenigstens für die Zeitrechnung der Römer hat er eine gute Lösung gefunden, und dies gegen die Skepsis seiner Zeitgenossen. Caesars keineswegs ironisches Kompliment für Cicero, daß es mehr zähle «die Grenzen des römischen Geistes als die der römischen Herrschaft erweitert zu haben»¹⁴², sagt auch etwas über ihn selbst. Der julianische Kalender ist

¹³⁷ Vgl. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 59), S. 564 f., der außerdem großen Wert auf Caesars *aureus* als 'Reichsmünze' legt — eine erst wieder von dem Ökonomen W. HANKEL, *Goldne Zeiten führt' ich ein. Caesar und sein Wirtschaftsimperium*, München 1978, beachtete These. Auch die allerdings sehr schlecht bezeugte «Weltvermessung» Caesars (vgl. Cosmogr. p. 72 Riese; W. KUBITSCHKE, art. *Iulius Honorius*, in *RE* X 1, 1917, Sp. 625-627) könnte zur Unterstützung von Mommsens Vermutung herangezogen werden.

¹³⁸ Schon in Italien selbst wird die neue Zeitrechnung nicht immer populär gewesen sein (vgl. Anm. 112 über den Konservatismus der Latiner). Für die Kalender des Westens s. Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 63), S. 754 f. Eine sehr komplizierte Rechnung führt zu der Möglichkeit, daß der julianische Kalender auf Zypern schon im Jahre 46 eingeführt wurde; vgl. A.E. SAMUEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 185. Im Osten blieb es zunächst bei den üblichen Kalendern, die zugleich das Zeichen für einen Rest von wenigstens kultureller Unabhängigkeit waren. S. auch A.E. SAMUEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 186-188 über die sehr langsame Durchsetzung des römischen Kalenders dort.

¹³⁹ Die Kalenderreform für Ägypten im Jahre 30 v. Chr. betraf ein Territorium, in dem der Princeps monarchisch auftreten konnte; vgl. dazu Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 79; W.J. SNYDER, *AJPh* 64 (1943), S. 385-398; A.E. SAMUEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 177. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß es kein einziges direktes Zeugnis für Augustus' ägyptische Reform gibt. Für die Provinz Asia wurde der julianische Kalender im Jahre 9 v. Chr. eingeführt; vgl. A.E. SAMUEL, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4), S. 181 f. zu *OGIS* 458.

¹⁴⁰ Galen, comm. in Hipp.Epid. 1 (XVII p. 19 Kühn), zitiert von L. IDELER, *op.cit.* (Anm. 4) I, S. 412 und von Th. MOMMSEN, *op.cit.* (Anm. 3), S. 75. Zur modernen Entwicklung des Zeitgefühls vgl. das Buch von R. WENDORFF, cit. Anm. 19.

¹⁴¹ C. Matius ap.Cic., *Att.* XIV 1.1: *etenim si ille tali ingenio exitum non reperiebat, quis nunc reperiet?*

¹⁴² Plin., *NH* VII 117: ... *omnium triumphorum laurea maiorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse quam imperii*. Zum Text s. H.J. TSCHIEDEL, *Caesars*

in der Tat die unumstrittenste Leistung des Mannes, dessen Namen er trägt.

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'*Anticato*'. *Eine Untersuchung der Testimonien und Fragmente*, Darmstadt 1981, S. 69 ff.; seine Interpretation der Worte als ironische Spitze gegen Cicero ist sicher unzutreffend.

SEDITION.
UNRUHEN UND REVOLTEN IM RÖMISCHEN REICH
VON AUGUSTUS BIS COMMODUS.*

I

Im 1875 zum ersten Male erschienenen und bis heute lesenswerten Buch des Franzosen Gaston Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars*, finden wir nach einem rhetorischen Hinweis auf die prachtvollen Ruinen der Theater, Paläste, Thermen, Brücken und anderer Bauten in den westlichen Provinzen folgende Sätze: «Fast alle diese Monumente stammen aus den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit und geben uns eine Vorstellung hochblühender Verhältnisse. Nie ist die Welt, wenn auch nicht unbedingt glücklicher, so doch reicher gewesen, und man kann unmöglich gelten lassen, daß die Städte, die in ihren Haushalten ausreichende Hilfsmittel gefunden haben, um diese prachtvollen Gebäude zu errichten, von den römischen Statthaltern so sehr gebrandschatzt und arm gemacht wurden, wie man annimmt. Wir haben die allergrößte Mühe Juvenal ernst zu nehmen, wenn er uns über die Zeit Hadrians, als alle diese kostspielige Denkmäler aufrecht standen, erzählt, die Welt sei zugrunde gerichtet, und daß man die besiegten Völker bereits so sehr ausgeplündert habe, daß bei ihnen nichts mehr zu holen sei.»¹

Dieselbe Auffassung finden wir jedoch schon ein Jahrhundert früher bei einem noch berühmteren Vorgänger. Im ersten Kapitel des ersten Buches seiner monumentalen *The History of the Decline and Fall of the*

* Abgekürzt werden im folgenden zitiert: M. ROSTOVITZ, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich*, Leipzig 1929 (ROSTOVITZ, *Gesellschaft*); R. MACMULLEN, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, Cambridge 1966 (MACMULLEN, *Enemies*); M. BENABOU, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris 1976 (BENABOU, *Résistance*); C.P. JONES, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostomos*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1978 (JONES, *Roman World*).

¹ G. BOISSIER, *L'opposition sous les Césars*, 1875, S. 27: «Presque tous ces monuments datent des premiers siècles de l'empire, et nous donnent l'idée d'une situation très-florissante. Jamais le monde n'a été, sinon plus heureux, au moins plus riche, et il n'est guère possible d'admettre que des villes qui ont trouvé assez de ressources dans leurs finances pour construire ces magnifiques édifices aient été aussi rançonnées et appauvries qu'on le prétend par les proconsuls romains. Nous avons grand-peine à prendre Juvénal au sérieux quand il vient nous dire du temps d'Hadrien, au moment où s'élevaient tous ces somptueux monuments, que le monde est ruiné, et qu'on a tant volé les peuples vaincus qu'il ne reste chez eux plus rien à prendre». Mit Hinweis auf Juven. VIII 108.

Roman Empire, 1776 das erste mal erschienen, schreibt Edward Gibbon in ähnlichen Tönen: «In the second century of the Christian era, the Empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilised portion of mankind. ... Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury.» Gibbon seinerseits hat nun wiederum einen antiken Vorgänger. Der Rhetor Aelius Aristides malt in seiner Rede «auf Rom», in der Hauptstadt wohl 155/6 in Anwesenheit des Kaisers Antoninus Pius gehalten, das Reich in den glänzendsten Farben. Überall herrsche Frieden, Sicherheit, Wohlstand, Gerechtigkeit, Glück. Die Rede ist, so Rostovtzeff, «nicht nur ein Ausdruck ehrlicher Bewunderung für die Größe des römischen Reiches, sondern eine gedankenreiche, auf solider Grundlage aufgebaute politische Analyse ersten Ranges». ²

Aber andere Stimmen wurden auch laut, so R. Syme: «This speech can be dismissed as an amalgam of well-worn commonplaces.» ³ Und da sind dann auch noch die von Boissier zwar zitierten, aber mit kopfschüttelnder Ungläubigkeit abgetanen Verse Juvenal's, *Sat.* viii 94 ff. Da steht etwa, Leute wie Dolabella, Antonius, Verrès und andere haben die einst blühenden Provinzen gründlich geplündert. Was nutzt es heute noch, wenn Statthalter verurteilt werden? Was der eine nicht angerührt hat, nimmt der nächste. *Nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum* (Z. 108). Allerdings sollte ein Statthalter bei den wilden Völkern Spaniens, Galliens und Illyriens vorsichtig sein: *curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat fortibus et miseris* (Z. 121 f.). Diese greifen nämlich leicht zu Waffen! Dies sei die Wahrheit: *quod modo proposui, non est sententia: verum est* (Z. 125). Auch nicht zu vergessen: Juvenal, unter Hadrian, also nicht lange vor Aristides schreibend, kennt offensichtlich mehrere Provinzen aus persönlicher Erfahrung. ⁴

Wer hat recht? War nun Augustus der «Friedensfürst», der durch die

² ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gesellschaft I*, S. 112. Zum umstrittenen Datum der Rede Ch. A. BEHR, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, Amsterdam 1968, S. 88 ff. Text mit englischer Übersetzung und Kommentar von J.-H. OLIVER, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc., 43, 1953), Philadelphia 1953, S. 871-1003. Vgl. auch die englische Übersetzung bei A. BEHR, *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works II*, Leiden 1981, S. 73 ff. mit den nützlichen Anmerkungen. Guter Forschungsbericht von R. KLEIN, *Die Romrede des Aelius Aristides, Einführung*, Darmstadt 1981, S. 160 ff.

³ R. SYME, *Roman Papers* (ed. E. Badian) II, Oxford 1979, S. 573.

⁴ So L. FRIEDLÄNDER in der Einleitung seiner kommentierten Ausgabe: *D. Junii Iuvenalis saturarum libri*, Leipzig 1895 (= 1967²), S. 17 f.

pax Augusta den Weltfrieden hergestellt hat⁵; begann mit seiner Herrschaft ein allgemeiner Aufschwung, der nicht zuletzt auch den Provinzialen Ruhe und Wohlstand bescherte, bis dann unter den «guten Kaisern» des 2. Jh. n. Chr. das *saeculum aureum*⁶ anbrach?

Um darauf antworten zu können, wollen wir unseren Blick auf die unteren Schichten, insbesondere auf die Provinzialen werfen und den Hof mit allen seinen Intrigen unberücksichtigt lassen. Uns soll im folgenden nicht interessieren, daß Augustus gelegentlich einen Panzer unter seiner Toga trug, wenn er den Senat betrat, und daß er Senatoren auf Waffen abtasten ließ (Suet., *Aug.* 35); wir vergessen die zahlreichen Majestätsprozesse, das Wüten eines Caligula, Nero und Domitian, die im J. 118 wegen einer Verschwörung hingerichteten vier Senatoren durch den «guten» Kaiser Hadrian. Auch die erschreckend hohe Zahl von Selbstmorden, nämlich 179 bekannte Fälle in der Zeit von 27 v. Chr. bis 192 n. Chr., braucht uns hier nicht aufzuhalten.⁷ Die meisten zufällig und sehr lückenhaft überlieferten Selbstmorde verübten Mitglieder der Oberschichten. Daß es diesen trotzdem gut ging, ist kaum in Frage zu stellen; die anfangs erwähnten Bauten, fast immer von Mitgliedern der drei hohen *ordines* finanziert, belegen es zu genüge, wie auch die vielen Stiftungen. Aber: beweist dies, daß es auch den städtischen und ländlichen Unterschichten gut ging, daß es in den Provinzen keine gegen die römischen Eroberer gerichteten Haßgefühle gab, daß die Soldaten mit ihrer wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Situation zufrieden waren?

Seit der schönen Untersuchung von Harald Fuchs wissen wir, daß es besonders in den östlichen Reichsteilen einen gegen Rom gerichteten Widerstand gab.⁸ Über «nationalen» Widerstand ist, abgesehen von Afrika, m.W. bislang zusammenfassend nicht gearbeitet worden.⁹ In seiner anregenden und vielseitigen Untersuchung: *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966) handelt R. MacMullen über die senatorischen Nachfolger

⁵ So H.E. STIER, in *ANRW* II 2, Berlin — New York 1975, S. 3 ff. mit zahlreichen Zitaten, insbesondere aus der deutschsprachigen Forschung.

⁶ Nicht nur eine moderne Benennung. Auf einem *aureus* Hadrians aus dem J. 121 steht bereits 'saeculum aureum' *BMC Emp.* III, S. 278 Nr. 312, Taf. 52,10; vgl. J. BEAUJEU, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire* I, Paris 1955, S. 128-161, u.a. mit Hinweis auf Verg., *Aen.* VI 792.

⁷ Y. GRISÉ, *De la fréquence du suicide chez les Romains*, *Latomus* 39 (1980), S. 17-46.

⁸ H. FUCHS, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt*, Berlin 1938.

⁹ Wenig ergiebig: S. DYSON, *Native Revolts in the Roman Empire*, *Historia* 20 (1971), S. 239-274 und Ders. in *ANRW* II 3, Berlin — New York 1975, S. 138-175. — MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S. 212 ff. leugnet, meist mit guten Gründen, überhaupt das Vorhandensein «nationaler» Widerstandsbewegungen. Für Afrika: BENABOU, *Résistance*.

von Cato und Brutus, über Philosophen und Magier, Astrologen und Wahrsager, aber auch über städtische Unruhen, die Aussenseiter der Gesellschaft, über Hunger und Räuberwesen. Diese letzten vier Kapitel bringen jedoch Beispiele vorwiegend aus der späteren Kaiserzeit. Eine chronologische Auflistung der Revolten und Unruhen war nicht sein Ziel.¹⁰

Dies soll jetzt im folgenden für die beiden ersten Jahrhunderte der Kaiserzeit versucht werden, um auf die oben aufgeworfene Frage wenigstens teilweise eine Antwort geben zu können. Zur folgenden Aufstellung muß allerdings noch etwas vorbemerkt werden: meine Materialsammlung ist alles andere als vollständig. Bei einer systematischen Durcharbeitung des Materials, auch der Inschriftenpublikationen, wären mit Sicherheit noch viel mehr Einzelheiten zu eruieren. Auch bei den bibliographischen Angaben strebte ich keineswegs Vollständigkeit an: Sie sind nur Einzelhinweise. Armenien und die von den Römern noch nicht eroberten Gebiete bleiben unberücksichtigt.

Die Angaben der *Historia Augusta* über das 2. Jh. werden als einigermaßen zuverlässig angesehen, besonders, wenn sie in den sog. Hauptviten stehen.

II

EINE CHRONOLOGISCHE LISTE DER UNRUHEN UND REVOLTEN (BEGINNEND MIT ACTIUM).

- 31-30, Winter. Unruhe der Veteranen in Süditalien (θορυβησάντων). Oktavian ist gezwungen, aus Griechenland dringend nach Brundisium zu fahren, C. Dio LI 4.3 ff.
- 29. Aufstand der Treverer in Gallien, der Kantabrer, Asturer und anderer in Spanien; verschiedene weitere Unruhen in verschiedenen Gebieten; dies alles unbedeutend in den Augen des C.Dio LI 20.5.
- 26-24. Cornelius Gallus besiegt die aufständische Stadt Heroonpolis in Ägypten und wirft eine Revolte in der Thebais nieder, die wegen Steuern ausgebrochen ist (στάσιν τε γενηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ θηβαίδι διὰ τοὺς φόρους), Strab. XVII 1.53 (819).
- 26-19. Augustus, Agrippa und andere kämpfen in Spanien, R. SYME, in *CAH* X, Cambridge 1971², S.343 ff.

¹⁰ Vgl. im allg. auch G. ALFÖLDY, *Soziale Konflikte im römischen Kaiserreich*, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 20 (1976), S. 111 ff. = *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, hrsg. H. SCHNEIDER, 1981, S. 372 ff.

25. Terentius Varro vernichtet die aufständischen Salasser in Norditalien (Aostatal). Viele werden getötet, angeblich 44.000 in die Sklaverei verkauft, Strab. IV 6.7 (205); C. Dio LIII 25.
- 24-21. Aufruhr in Alexandrien, der Statthalter Petronius wird mit Steinen beworfen, Strab. XVII 1.53 (819).
22. Hungersnot und Unruhen in Rom, C. Dio LIV 1.2 f.
20. Unruhen in Kyzikos: Römische Bürger werden ausgepeitscht und getötet. Unruhen auch in Tyros und Sidon, C. Dio LIV 7.6.
19. Aufstände in Gallien, durch Agrippa unterdrückt, C. Dio LIV 11.1 f. — Vgl. E. GROAG, in E. RITTERLING, *Fasti des röm. Deutschland*, Wien 1932, S.5.
- um 17. P. Paquius Scaeva, der vorher bereits prokonsularischer Statthalter Zyperns gewesen ist, wird in einem Sonderauftrag noch einmal hingeschickt: *procos. iterum extra sortem auctoritate Aug. Caesaris et S.C. missus ad componendum statum in reliquum provinciae Cypri*, ILS 915; T.B. MITFORD, in *ANRW* II 7.2, Berlin-New York 1980, S.1299 und 1343. Es war nicht üblich, jemanden ein zweites Mal in seine Provinz zu schicken. Es muß sich um eine besonders schwierige Aufgabe, möglicherweise also um Unruhen, gehandelt haben; man benötigte jemanden, der die lokalen Verhältnisse auf der Insel bereits kannte.
16. Verschiedene Aufstände: in Norditalien (Camunni, Vennonnes, Como- und Gardaseegegend), in Pannonien, Dalmatien, Spanien und anderswo, C. Dio LIV 20.
- 16-15. Unruhen in Gallien: *Comatam Galliam ... principum discordia inquietam*, Suet., *Tib.* 9.1; E. RITTERLING, *Fasti*, S.6.
11. Aufstand der Dalmatier, denen sich Pannonier anschließen. Pannonien wird Provinz, C. Dio LIV 34.3-4; A. Mócsy, in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), Sp. 541.
9. Aufstand in Dalmatien und Pannonien, C. Dio LV 2.4; A. Mócsy, *a.O.*
- 7-2. Eurycles, von Augustus eingesetzter Tyrann von Sparta, wird angeklagt, im Peloponnes Unruhen gestiftet zu haben. Er wird später verurteilt. Jos., *BJ* I 531 usw.; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *JRS* 51 (1961), S.112-118.
6. Unruhen in Palästina, unterdrückt durch Quinctilius Varus, Nik. Damask., *FGrH* 90 F 136, 8 ff.; Jos., *BJ* II 1 ff. usw.
6. Aufruhr wegen Hungersnot in Knidos (Karien), W. DITTENBERGER, *Syll.*³ 780 = V. EHRENBURG - A.H.M. JONES, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, London 1955², Nr. 312.

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6. Schwere Unruhen wegen Hungersnot in Rom, C. Dio LV 26-27.
6. Mehrere Städte rebellieren (πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέρησιν); doch es lohnt sich nach C. Dio LV 28.2 nicht, darüber zu schreiben.
6. Aufstand der Isaurier, C. Dio LV 28.3. Isaurien, ein Räubernest unter Augustus: Strab. XII 6.2 (568). Das Gebiet wahrscheinlich nie ganz befriedet; vgl. für die Spätantike MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S.262 f.; R. SYME, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968, S.43 ff.
- 6-9. Der große pannonisch-dalmatinische Aufstand, Vell. Pat. II 110 ff.; Suet., *Tib.* 16, usw.; vgl. E. KÖSTERMANN, *Hermes* 81 (1953), S.345 ff.; A. Mócsy, in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), Sp. 544 ff.

- 6-19. Zum J. 6 berichtet C. Dio LV 28.1, daß «Räuber» die Insel Sardinien in so großer Zahl überrannt haben, daß kein Statthalter mehr hingehen konnte; es wurden Soldaten geschickt (vgl. zu den Verhältnissen auf der Insel schon Varro, *r.r.* I 16.2). Widerstand gegen Rom bis mindestens 19 n. Chr., Tac., *Ann.* II 85.4; Jos., *Ant.Jud.* XVIII 84.
- 13 (?). Unruhen in Athen, Chronik des Eusebios, ol. 197 = Hieron., *Chron.* ol. 197; Oros. VI 22.2 usw.; vgl. P. GRAINDOR, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Le Caire 1927, S.41 ff.
- unter Augustus, Zeit unbekannt. Aufstand in Thessalien, ein sonst nicht identifizierter Petraeus wird lebendigen Leibes verbrannt, Plut., *Praec. ger. reip.* 815 D.
- 14 ff. Tiberius unternimmt alles, um Aufstände und Bandenwesen einzuschränken. Militärstationen werden eingerichtet, *populares tumultus et ortos gravissime coarctuit et ne orentur sedulo cavit*, Suet., *Tib.* 37.1 f. Auch nach Vell. Pat. II 126.2 herrscht unter ihm überall Ruhe (vgl. W. ORTH, *Die Provinzialpolitik des Tiberius*, Bonn 1970, S.103 f.). Jedoch:
14. Meuterei der Donau- und Rheinlegionen, Tac., *Ann.* I 16-49.
15. Schlägereien im Theater in Rom, es gibt Tote unter den Zuschauern und den Soldaten, selbst Zenturionen werden erschlagen, Tac., *Ann.* I 77; C. Dio LVII 14.10.
- 17-24. Tacfarinas-Aufstand in Africa. Mehrere Städte werden überfallen, starke römische Einheiten müssen wiederholt eingreifen, Tac., *Ann.* II 52; III 20-21; 32; 73-74; IV 23-26. Vgl. P. ROMANELLI, *Storia delle province Romane dell'Africa*, Roma 1959, S.227-242; R. SYME, *Roman Papers* (ed. E. BADIAN) I, Oxford 1979, S.218-230; BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.75-82.
18. Germanicus in Kleinasien: *Provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat*, Tac., *Ann.* II 54.1.
21. Aufstand des Florus und Sacrovir in Gallien. Grund: Schulden und Steuern. Das römische Joch soll abgeschüttelt werden, römische Kaufleute werden ermordet. Sacrovir hat in Augustodunum 40.000 bewaffnete Parteigänger. Tac., *Ann.* III 40-46. — Unverständlich M.P. CHARLESWORTH, in *CAH X*, Cambridge 1971², S.644: «Gaul suffered from one movement of revolt, though not of any seriousness».
24. Sklavenaufstand in Italien, schnell unterdrückt, Tac., *Ann.* IV 27 (G. ALFÖLDY, *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden 1969, S.149 ff. bezieht darauf *CIL IX 2335 = ILS 961.*).
25. Unruhen in Kyzikos, römische Bürger werden eingekerkert, Tac., *Ann.* IV 36.2; Suet., *Tib.* 37.3; C. Dio LVII 24.6.
25. Ein hoher römischer Magistrat aus dem Senatorenstand wird in der Hispania citerior ermordet, angeblich, weil er Gelder mit besonderer Härte eingetrieben hat: *quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat*, Tac., *Ann.* IV 45; vgl. G. ALFÖLDY, *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden 1969, S.67.
32. Unruhen in Rom wegen Lebensmittelknappheit, Tac., *Ann.* VI 13.1.
34. In Griechenland, auf den Kykladen und in Ionien taucht ein falscher Drusus auf, viele schließen sich ihm an, Tac., *Ann.* V 10; C. Dio LVIII 25.1; MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S.143.

38. Unruhen in Alexandrien, Philo, in *Flaccum*, passim.
- 40-42. Aufstand des Aedemon in Mauretanien, Plin., *NH* V 11 u.s.w.; *AE* 1976, 17. Vgl. D. FISHWICK, *Historia* 20 (1971), S.467 ff., bes. 473-480. BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.90-92.
40. Angebliche Unruhen in Antiochia, die ihren Ursprung im Circus hatten und dann zu blutigen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Griechen und Juden führten. Etwas märchenhafte Erzählung bei Malalas 244.15 ff., die aber auf eine gute Quelle zurückgehen dürfte, vgl. G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, N.J. 1961, S.192 ff.
42. Militärrevolte des Furius Camillus Scribonianus in Dalmatien, Suet., *Claud.* 13.2; Tac., *Hist.* I 89.2; C. Dio LX 15.1-3. Vgl. J.J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, S.443.
43. Aufstände in Lykien, römische Bürger werden ermordet, C. Dio LX 17.3; Suet., *Claud.* 25.3. Vgl. R. SYME, *Roman Papers* (ed. E. BADIAN) I, Oxford 1979, S.42 f.
44. Unruhen auf Rhodos, wobei römische Bürger gepfählt werden, C. Dio LX 24.4.
- 44-46. Unruhen in der Africa proconsularis, Galba wird *extra sortem* als Statthalter hingeschickt *ad ordinandam provinciam et intestina dissensione et barbarorum tumultu inquietam*, Suet., *Galba* 7.1.
51. Hungerrevolte in Rom. Claudius wird von der Menge angegriffen, Tac., *Ann.* XII 43.1 f.; Suet., *Claud.* 18.2.
52. Jüdische Aufstände, Tac., *Ann.* XII 54; Jos., *Ant. Jud.* XX 8. 5 und 10.
52. Unruhen in Kilikien, Händler, Bauern und ganze Siedlungen werden überfallen, Anemurium von den Aufständischen belagert, Tac., *Ann.* XII 55.
54. Sklavenunruhen in Kalabrien, Tac., *Ann.* XII 65.1.
- 54-57 (?). Aufruhr in Ephesos, angezettelt durch Souvenirhersteller, die ihr Broterwerb durch die Predigten des Apostels Paulus gefährdet sehen, *Acta apost.* XIX 23 ff. Zum Datum: H. JEDIN - K. BAUS, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* I³, Freiburg 1973, S.123.
- etwa 54-60. Ein primuspilus (?) der legio VI Victrix erhält Militärauszeichnungen *ob res prospere gestas contra Astures*. Es muß sich um einen Stammesaufstand handeln. Das Datum ergibt sich aus der Ämterlaufbahn. *CIL* XI 395 = *ILS* 2648 = A. VON DOMASZEWSKI - B. DOBSON, *Die Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, Köln 1967², S.262.
58. Unruhen in Puteoli, Steine werden geworfen, es besteht die Gefahr von Brandstiftungen. Aus Rom wird eine Prätorianerkohorte hingeschickt, es folgen Hinrichtungen, Tac., *Ann.* XIII 48.
59. Schlägerei im Amphitheater von Pompeji zwischen Einheimischen und Bewohnern der Nachbarstadt Nuceria. Zahlreiche Tote und Verletzte, Tac., *Ann.* XIV 17. Dargestellt auf dem bekannten Fresko aus Pompeji, Reg. I, 3, 25. Jetzt in Neapel; vgl. z.B. R. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, *Rom, das Zentrum der Macht (Universum der Kunst)*, München 1970, S. 64 Abb. 70.
- 60/61. Der spätere Kaiser Vespasian wird als *proconsul Africae* während eines Aufruhrs (*seditio*) in Hadrumetum mit Rüben beworfen, Suet., *Vesp.* 4.3.
61. Boudicca-Aufstand in Britannien, mit angeblich 80.000 römischen Opfern, Tac., *Ann.* XIV 31-37; *Agr.* 15 f.; C. Dio LXII 1-12.

66. Aufruhr in Pergamon, als der Abgesandte Nero's, Acratus, dort — wie auch anderswo — für den Kaiser Statuen und Gemälde beschlagnahmen will, Tac., *Ann.* XVI 23.1 (und XV 45.2); Plutarch, *praec. ger. reip.* 815 D.
- etwa 66-69. Aufruhr in Alexandria, Jos., *Bell. Jud.* II 487-498. Zum Datum A. STEIN, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, Bern 1950, S.37.
- etwa 66-69. Auseinandersetzungen zwischen zwei Gemeinden in Sardinien. Gebiete der Nachbargemeinde werden mit Gewalt besetzt. Der Statthalter muß eingreifen und mit den Strafbestimmungen für *seditio* (Tod bzw. Verbannung) drohen, falls das okkupierte Land nicht freigegeben wird, *ILS* 5947 = S. RICCOBONO, *Fontes iuris Rom. anteiust.* I², S.322 ff. Nr. 59; Th. MOMMSEN, *Ges. Schr.* V, S.325 ff.
- 66-70. Der große jüdische Aufstand, endet mit der Einnahme von Jerusalem durch Titus.
- 66/67. Unruhen in Antiochien (?), Jos., *Bell. Jud.* VII 46-53; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, N.J. 1961, S.199 f.
68. Vindex-Aufstand in Gallien, Tac., *Hist.* I 51 ff.; Plut. *Galba* 4 f. usw. Vgl. M. RAOSS, *Epigraphica* 22 (1960), S.37 ff.
68. Hunger und Überschwemmung in Rom, Tac., *Hist.* I 86.2.
- 68-69. Auf die Kämpfe der Thronprätendenten im sog. Vierkaiserjahr soll nicht näher eingegangen werden. Jedoch mögen hier einige weitere lokale Ereignisse aufgezählt werden:
- 68/69. Offener Krieg zwischen Lugdunum und Vienna, Tac., *Hist.* I 65.
69. Kleinkrieg zwischen den Städten Oea und Lepcis Magna in Tripolitanien. Zuerst werden gegenseitig Getreide und Herden erbeutet, dann sogar die Garamanten geholt, Gebiete verwüstet. Rom muß mit Truppen eingreifen, Tac., *Hist.* IV 50.4.
69. In Histrien (Norditalien) schließen sich verschiedene Leute, auch Soldaten, einem geflüchteten Sklaven an, der sich für einen vornehmen Herrn ausgibt. Der beginnende Aufstand wird bald unterdrückt, Tac., *Hist.* II 72. Vgl. H. BELLEN, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich*, Wiesbaden 1971, S.97 f.
69. Aufstand in Pontus, angeführt von einem Freigelassenen namens Anicetus. Viele schließen sich an, es gibt Raubzüge, die Stadt Trapezunt wird von ihnen eingenommen. Vespasian muß Soldaten gegen sie schicken, Tac., *Hist.* III 47-48.
69. In Achaia und Asia taucht ein falscher Nero auf, er hat sofort grossen Anhang, sogar Soldaten schließen sich ihm an, Tac., *Hist.* II 8-9; C. Dio LXIII (LXIV) 9.3. Vgl. A.E. PAPPANO, *CJ* 32 (1937), S.385 ff., bes. 387-390.
69. Aufstand des Civilis im Rheingebiet, Tac., *Hist.* IV 13 ff. usw.
69. Aufstand des Iulius Classicus, Tutor und Sabinus in Gallien, um ein *Imperium Galliarum* zu gründen, Tac., *Hist.* IV 55-79; C. Dio LXV 3.1-3: nicht der Rede Wert (Ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἄλλαι τε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' ἀναστάσεις ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην ἔμοι γούν ὄφελος φέρουσαι).
69. Mariccus-Aufstand in Gallien, Tac., *Hist.* II 61 mit dem Kommentar von Chilver ad locum.
70. Feuerbrunst in Antiochien, es folgen Unruhen, Juden werden der Brandstiftung angeklagt, G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch*, Princeton, N.J. 1961, S.204 f. mit Quellen.

- 70-79. Zahlreiche Unruhen im ganzen römischen Reich, Suet., *Vesp.* 8.2: *sed et provinciae civitatesque liberae ... tumultuosius inter se agebant.* 8.4: *Achaïam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Samum libertate adempta.* Vgl. Pausan. VII 17.4.
- um 71/75. Von einem Weber angeführt ziehen in Kyrene viele arme Juden in die Wüste. Sie werden von römischen Truppen angegriffen, viele werden getötet, anschließend läßt der Statthalter angeblich 1.000 reiche Juden hinrichten, Jos., *Bell. Jud.* VII 11.437 ff.
- etwa 73. Unruhen in Alexandrien, Jos., *Bell. Jud.* VII 407-419; evtl. auch Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXII. Vgl. JONES, *Roman World*, S.36 ff., 134.
- zw. 70 und 80. Cibyra (Asia). Ehreninschrift für einen Bürger, der u.a. 107 flüchtige Sklaven der öffentlichen Hand zurückführte, ferner eine Verschwörung beendete, die der Stadt den größten Schaden zugefügt hat: *καταλύσαντα συνωμοσίαν μεγάλην τὰ μέγιστα λυποῦσαν τὴν πόλιν*, *IGR* IV 914. Vgl. JONES, *Roman World*, S.100.
- zw. 70 und 80. Hungerrevolte in Prusa, Dio Chrys., *Or.* XLVI. Vgl. JONES, *Roman World*, S.19 ff.
75. Unruhen (?) in Mauretanien, *AE* 1941, 79; BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.103 f.
- 79-81. Ein zweiter falscher Nero taucht in der Provinz Asia auf, findet zahlreiche Anhänger, Soldaten werden gegen ihn geschickt, er zieht schließlich durch Kleinasien zum Partherkönig, Zonar. XI 18 usw., vgl. A.E. PAPPANO, *CJ* 32 (1937), S.390 f.
- 81-96. Aufstände in mehreren Provinzen wegen zu hoher Steuern, C. Dio LXVII 4.6 = Zonar. XI 19.
- 81-96. Häufige Unruhen in den Städten (*πολλὰι δὲ ἑσταζίαζον*) Kilikiens und Pamphyliens. In Aspendos beruhigt Apollonius von Tyana die aufgebrachte Menge, Philostr., *V. Apoll.* I 15.
- 81-96. In Ephesos wird ein Statthalter von der Menge fast gesteinigt, Philostr., *V. Apoll.* I 16.
- 81-96. Beginnende Unruhen in Smyrna (?), Philostr., *V. Apoll.* IV 8.1.
- 81-96. Häufige Unruhen im bithynischen Nikomedeia, Plin., *Ep.* X 34 mit dem Kommentar von Sherwin-White, S.609 f.
- ? Eine sehr fragmentarische Inschrift aus Nikomedeia erwähnt *στάσις* und *ῥόρυθος* in der Stadt: F.K. DÖRNER, *Inschriften aus Bithynien* Nr. 24 = *TAM* IV 1.3.
- 81-96. Aufstand in Sardis, der angeblich fast zur Vernichtung der Stadt führt, Plut., *Praec. ger. reip.* 825 D. Vgl. C.P. JONES, *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford 1971, S.110 ff. bes. 117. Auf diese Angelegenheit könnten sich Philostr., *Epist. Apoll.* 56; 75; 76 beziehen. So auch L. ROBERT, *Annuaire Collège de France* 73 (1973), S.485 f.
- 81-96. Unruhen in Rhodos, Plutarch, *Praec. ger. reip.* 815 D.
- um 85. Aufstand in Mauretanien (?) *ILS* 9200 (*dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanicus ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas*). Vgl. BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.109-111; R. SYME, in *CAH* XI, Cambridge 1965² (= 1969), S.149 f.
- 86-87. Aufstand der Nasamones in Numidien, der Statthalter Suellius Flaccus wird belagert, sämtliche Steuereintreiber werden ermordet. Der Stamm wird weitgehend ausgerottet, C. Dio LXVII 4.6 = Zonar. XI 19.

- 88-89 (?). Ein dritter falscher Nero (?) tritt in den Ostprovinzen auf, Suet., *Nero* 57.2. Vgl. A.E. PAPPANO, *CJ* 32 (1937), S.391 f.
89. Anfang Januar läßt sich Antonius Saturninus in Mainz zum Kaiser ausrufen. Germania superior und evtl. andere Provinzen schließen sich ihm an. Es folgt ein blutiger Krieg, Suet., *Domit.* 6-7; C. Dio LXVII 11.1-4; Martial. IV 11 usw., vgl. R. SYME, in *CAH* XI, Cambridge 1965² (= 1969), S.172 ff.
- 91-94. Lebensmittelknappheit in der pisidischen Stadt Antiochia. Der Statthalter Galatiens muß auf Bitte der Stadtbehörden mit einem Edikt eingreifen, also wurden Unruhen befürchtet oder sie waren bereits ausgebrochen, W. RAMSAY, *JRS* 14 (1924), S.179 ff. Nr. 6 = *AE* 1925, 126; vgl. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gesellschaft* I, S.296, Anm. 9; B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, S.96 f.
96. Nach dem Tode Domitian's beginnen unverzüglich Meutereien bei Truppen, Suet., *Domit.* 23; Philostr., *V. soph.* I 7 (488); vgl. JONES, *Roman World*, S.10.
- um 100. Tumulte in Tarsos (Kilikien), verursacht durch Leinenweber, Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIV, passim, bes. 21: τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς ἀταξίας αἰτιον; στάσεως ἀρχεῖν καὶ παραχῆς. Vgl. JONES, *Roman World*, S.75 ff., 136 f.
- um 100. Gleichzeitig stasis in der Nachbarstadt Mallos, Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIV, 14.
- um 100 – bis gegen 110. Wiederholte Unruhen in Prusa, JONES, *Roman World*, S.101-103; A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford 1966, S.609 f.
- nach 100. In Vienna (Gallien) werden lokale agonistische Spiele durch einen duumvir verboten. Die Angelegenheit wird anschließend vor Trajan in Rom behandelt, Plin., *Ep.* IV 22. Die Gründe des Verbots werden nicht genannt. In seinem Kommentar meint Sherwin-White (S. 301), die Römer befürchteten diese Art von Spiele griechischen Ursprungs, weil sie Homosexualität förderten. Doch dann würde man eher ein allgemeines Verbot für das ganze Reich — oder ganze Provinzen — erwarten. Es könnte sich m.E. um Schlägereien und Ausschreitungen gehandelt haben, wie etwa im J. 59 in Pompeji, das ebenfalls zur Schließung des Amphitheaters führte, vgl. oben.
- 115-117. Der große jüdische Aufstand in Palästina, Ägypten, Kyrene und Zypern mit der Verwüstung bedeutender Gebiete, V.A. TCHERIKOVER und A. FUKS, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* I, Cambridge, Mass. 1957, S.85 ff. mit allen Quellen, auch zahlreicher Papyri. Nach C. Dio LXVIII 32.1-3 fallen ihm in Kyrene 220.000, auf Zypern 240.000 Griechen und Römer zum Opfer; sicher eine stark übertriebene Zahl.
- 117-138. Die Historia Augusta weiß in der Zeit Hadrian's von Aufständen in Britannien, Ägypten, Libyen und Palästina, HA, *V. Hadr.* 5.2.
- unter Hadrian (? - oder Trajan?). Der Rhetor Polemo beendet Bürgerkriege in Smyrna, die zwischen der Bevölkerung «vom Hochland und denen von der Küste» (so ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gesellschaft* I, S.317, Anm. 44) — oder «Oberstadt und Küstenbewohner» — geführt werden: ἐστασίαζεν ἡ Σμύρνα καὶ διεστήκεσαν οἱ ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, Philostr., *V. soph.* I 25.1 (531).
- 117 und 122. Aufstände in Mauretanien, P. ROMANELLI, *Storia delle province Romane dell'Africa*, Roma 1959, S.332 f.; BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.121-134.
- nach 132? Unruhen (?) in Pergamon, *IGR* IV 351, Z. 24.

- 132-135. Bar Kokhba — Aufstand in Palästina, vgl. M. AVI-JONAH, *The Jews of Palestine*, Oxford 1976, S.12 ff.
- 136/137. Jüdische Unruhen in Ägypten, *BGU* 889, 22f. Ἰουδαϊκὸς ταραχος, U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge*, Hildesheim 1963², S.65.
- unter Hadrianus oder Antoninus Pius. Aufruhr in Athen wegen Hunger. Der Strategie und bekannte Redner Lollianus wird fast gesteinigt, Philostr., *V. soph.* I 23 (526).
- 138-161. Die Historia Augusta weiß von Rebellionen unter Antoninus Pius in Britannien, Mauretanien, Germanien, Dakien, Judaea, Achaia und Ägypten, HA, *V. Ant.P.* 5.4-5.
- 138-142. Aufstand der Brigantes in Britannien, besiegt von Lollius Urbicus (zu ihm A.R. BIRLEY, in *Epigr. Studien* 4, Köln 1967, S.71 f.), HA, *a.O.*; Pausan. VIII 43.4.
- 144-150. Gefährliches Räuberunwesen in der Mauretania Sitifensis, bei der Ortschaft Saldae, *CIL* VIII 2728 = 5795.
- 152 (?). Unruhen in Mauretanien, HA, *a.O.*; Pausan. VIII 43.3. Vgl. P. ROMANELLI, *op. cit.*, S.351 ff.; BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.135-144.
- 152/3 (?). Revolte in Ägypten, wobei ein Statthalter getötet wird, HA, *a.O.*; *BGU* II 372; U. WILCKEN, *Chrestom.* Nr. 19; Ael. Arist., *Or.* XIV 1. Vgl. F. SCHEHL, *Hermes* 65 (1930), S.193 ff.; A. STEIN, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten*, Bern 1950, S. 82 f.
- 157? Unruhen in Achaia, HA, *a.O.*; Lukian, *Peregr.* 19; *AE* 1929, 21. Vgl. P.A. BRUNT, *Historia* 10 (1961), S.211 Anm. 64 a. Nach A. HÜTTL, *Antoninus Pius* I, Prag 1933, S.320 im J. 157; laut E. GROAG, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, Wien-Leipzig 1939, S.71 ist das genaue Datum nicht feststellbar.
- 157/58 (?). ROSTOVITZ, *Gesellschaft* II, S.315, Anm. 90: «... der bekannte Brief Frontos an Kaiser Antoninus Pius (*ad. Ant.Pium* 8 ...). Fronto macht sich bereit, als Prokonsul nach Asien zu gehen, und hat sich die Hilfe seines Freundes Iulius Senex aus Mauretanien gesichert 'cuius non modo fide et diligentia sed etiam militari industria circa quaerendos et continendos latrones adiuvarer'. Mauretanien war bekanntlich ein Räubernest. Daß Fronto sich einen Spezialisten für Räuberbezwingung holen wollte, spricht doch nicht für friedliche Verhältnisse in Asien...». Zum Datum: G. ALFÖLDY, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977, S.124.
- Kurz vorher, wohl 156, konnte Fronto die am Anfang dieses Aufsatzes erwähnte Rede des Aelius Aristides in Rom mitanhören, in dem es hieß, im ganzen römischen Reich herrsche Friede und Sicherheit, man könne gefahrenlos reisen (Ael. Arist., *Or.* XXVI 97 ff.), insbesondere die Heimat des Redners, Ionien (also gerade die Provinz Asia) steht in höchster Blüte, Soldaten seien dort nicht mehr nötig (*Or.* XXVI 95)!
- Zu ähnlichen Stimmen über Frieden und Sicherheit (Philo, Plutarch, Sueton usw.) vgl. L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengesch.* I¹⁰, Leipzig 1922, S.316 ff.
- um 157/8 (?) Unruhen in Dakien, HA, *a.O.*; Ael. Arist., *Or.* XIV.
- Mitte 2. Jh. Apuleius berichtet in seinen wohl nach 160 verfassten *Metamorphosen* (III 28; IV 1-21 usw.) in eindrucksvoller Weise über die Tätigkeit von Räuberbanden in Thessalien und Boiotien, von denen weder Reisende noch ganze Dörfer sicher waren.

- etwa Mitte 2. Jh. Bei einem Aufstand in Athen beschwichtigt der Redner Demonax allein durch sein Erscheinen die Bevölkerung: *στάσεως δὲ ποτὲ Ἀθήνησι γενομένης εἰσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ φανεὶς μόνον σιωπᾶν ἐποίησεν αὐτούς*, Lukian, *Demonax* 64.
- Etwa Mitte 2. Jh. Streik der Bäcker in Ephesos, *Inscr. v. Magnesia* 114 = *Inscr. v. Ephesos* 215; Arbeiterstreik (?) in Pergamon, *IGR IV* 444. Vgl. W.H. BUCKLER, *Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia Minor*, in *Anatol. Stud. W. Ramsay*, London 1923, S.27 ff.; ROSTOVTZEFF, *Gesellschaft I*, S.317, Anm. 44; R. MACMULLEN, *CJ* 58 (1963), S.269-271.
- 161-180. Unruhen bei den Sequanern in der Provinz Germania und bei den Lusitaniern in Spanien, HA, *V.M. Aur.* 22.10 f. Vgl. J.M. BLÁZQUEZ, in *ANRW II* 3, Berlin-New York 1975, S.508 f.
- 161-180. Unruhen in Dakien? ROSTOVTZEFF, *Gesellschaft I*, S.339, Anm. 78.
- 161-180. Mauren verwüsten spanische Provinzen, HA, *V.M. Aur.* 21.1. Jemand wird mit Truppen geschickt in *Hispanias adversus Mauros rebelles*, *ILS* 1327.
- 161-180. Unruhen in afrikanischen Provinzen, BÉNABOU, *Résistance*, S.144-156.
- 170/4. Ob die bekannten Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der Bevölkerung von Athen und Herodes Atticus (Philostr., *V. soph.* II 1 559 f.) zu Gewalttätigkeiten geführt haben, ist nicht bekannt, jedoch möglich. Vgl. zu den Ereignissen J.H. OLIVER, *Marcus Aurelius (Hesperia Suppl., 13)*, Princeton 1970, S.66 ff.
- 172 (?). Bukolen-Aufstand im Nildelta in Ägypten. Ein römischer Zenturio ermordet, römische Truppen geschlagen, Alexandrien beinahe eingenommen, C. Dio LXXI 4; HA, *V.M. Aur.* 21.2. Vgl. A. BIRLEY, *Mark Aurel*, München 1968, S.313 f. — Auf diesen Aufstand könnte sich ein astrologischer Papyrus beziehen, der von *ταραχή* und *θάνατος* in Ägypten spricht, J.C. SHELTON, *AncSoc* 7 (1976), S.209 ff.
175. Aufstand des Avidius Cassius im Osten, C. Dio LXXI 17; 22-27 usw. Vgl. A. BIRLEY, *op. cit.*, S.334 ff.
- 175/7. Ein procurator der Moesia inferior wird mit Vexillationen gegen «Räubertruppen» im thrakisch-makedonischen Grenzgebiet geschickt: *ad detrahendam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedoniae et Thraciae*, H.-G. PFLAUM, *Libyca* 3 (1955), S.135 f. = *AE* 1956, 124; vgl. G. MIHAILOV, *Inscr. Graec. Bulg. rep.* III 1, Serdicae 1961, ad Nr. 1126.
- ab 170. Die Montanistenbewegung in Phrygien kann wenigstens teilweise und sekundär als antirömisch bezeichnet werden: Kein Kriegsdienst, kein Besitz von Geld (und damit wohl auch keine Steuerzahlungen), usw. Vgl. H. JEDIN - K. BAUS, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte I*³, Freiburg 1973, S.231 ff. mit Quellen und Lit.
177. Die Christenverfolgungen in Lugdunum/Lyon sind mit Aufruhr der Bevölkerung verbunden, Euseb., *HE V* 1.7-8; 15; 57 usw.
- 180-192. Unter Commodus gab es nach Auskunft der Historia Augusta Siege über Mauri und Daci, ferner: *Pannoniae quoque compositae*, in *Britannia*, in *Germania et in Dacia imperium eius recusantibus provincialibus*, HA, *V. Comm.* 13.5.
185. Militäraufstand des Perennis in Britannien, C. Dio LXXIII 4.1; HA, *V. Pert.* 3.5 ff.

185. Eine Reihe gleichlautender Inschriften berichtet darüber, daß Kaiser Commodus am pannonischen Donaulimes *ripam omnem burgis a solo extructis idem praesidis per loca opportuna ad clandestinos latrunculorum transitus oppositis munivit*, *CIL* III 3385 = *ILS* 395; *Intercisa* I, Nr. 297-307; vgl. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London 1974, S.196 f. In der Forschung ist umstritten, ob es sich bei den *latrunculi* um aufständische Provinzialen, jenseits der Grenze wohnenden Barbaren oder einfach Schmuggler handelt.
- 185/6 (?). Ein Krieg der Fahnenflüchtigen (*bellum desertorum*, HA, *V. Comm.* 16.2), angeführt von einem Maternus, soll in Gallien und Spanien zu großen Unruhen geführt haben, bedeutende Städte wurden angegriffen, selbst ein Einfall nach Italien soll geglückt sein, Herod. I 10.1-7. Nach G. ALFÖLDY, *BJ* 171 (1971), S.367 ff. fand der Aufstand 185/6 statt und beschränkte sich im Wesentlichen auf die *Germania superior*.
- 188/9. Angeblich mehrere Rebellionen in der *Africa proconsularis*, HA, *V. Pert.* 4.2: *in quo proconsulatu multas seditiones perpersus dicitur*.
- 189/90. Hungerrevolte in Rom, Soldaten töten zahlreiche Personen. Nachher viele Hinrichtungen, C. Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 13-14; Herod. I 12-13. Vgl. C.R. WHITTAKER, *Historia* 13 (1964), S.348-369.

Damit möchte ich diese Liste hier abschließen. Daß die Thronprätendentenkämpfe ab 193 das ganze Reich aufwühlten, ist allgemein bekannt; Herodian berichtet darüber, daß selbst nach dem endgültigen Sieg des Septimius Severus in zahlreichen Städten des griechischen Ostens Aufstände ausbrachen (Herod. III 2.7 f.). Die zunehmenden sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Probleme des 3. Jh. sollen hier nicht mehr behandelt werden. Ein einziger Hinweis genügt: Für die Jahre 180-238 kennt Whittaker (*loc. cit.*, S.361) insgesamt 29 Aufstände, Verschwörungen und Unruhen, größtenteils aus Rom. Und dabei ist diese Aufstellung unvollständig: Weder die Herodianstelle über die Griechenstädte noch etwa der Aufstand des Jahres 215 in Alexandrien (P. BENOIT - J. SCHWARTZ, *EPap* 7 (1948), S.17 ff.) sind bei ihm erwähnt.

III

Bei der Betrachtung und Auswertung dieser Liste — immerhin weit über 100 Aufstände und Unruhen in gut 200 Jahren! — dürfen zunächst mindestens drei Aspekte nicht ganz unberücksichtigt bleiben: 1. Wenn auch einige Unruhen rein lokalen Charakter hatten, nur kurze Zeit dauerten und unter Umständen zu keinem Blutvergießen führten, so dehnten sich andere auf ganze Provinzen aus, konnten viele Jahre dauern (pannonisch-dalmatinischer Aufstand, Tacfarinas, Spanien unter Augustus, die jüdischen Unruhen) und kosteten Zehntausende, wenn

nicht sogar Hunderttausende von Toten. — 2. Die Quellenlage ist äußerst lückenhaft und besonders die Lokalhistoriker sind nur sehr unvollständig auf uns gekommen. Besäßen wir die Schriften von mehreren Rednern und Sophisten in der Art des Dio Chrysostomos, so würden wir nicht nur über Prusa und einige weitere Städte in Kleinasien wenigstens für einige Jahrzehnte Bescheid wissen. Die «Reichshistoriker» interessieren sich für städtische oder provinziale Unruhen nicht. Cassius Dio sagt es an mehr als einer Stelle deutlich. Nachdem er etwa für das Jahr 29 v. Chr. mehrere Völker aufzählt, die innerhalb der römischen Reichsgrenzen unter Waffen standen, fügt er hinzu: «und dann gab es noch in verschiedenen Gebieten zahlreiche weitere Unruhen; aber da aus diesen nichts von Wichtigkeit entstanden ist, da auch die Römer damals selbst nicht der Meinung waren, sie befänden sich im Krieg, so will auch ich nichts Erwähnenswertes über diese Sachen aufzeichnen.»¹¹ Diese Einstellung gilt, mutatis mutandis, auch für Tacitus oder Herodian. — 3. Wie eingangs bereits gesagt, erhebt meine Liste keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

Berücksichtigt man alldies, so kann man nicht umhin anzunehmen, daß im römischen Kaiserreich der ersten beiden Jahrhunderte irgendwo immer Unruhen stattgefunden haben, nicht selten an mehreren Stellen gleichzeitig, und daß in vielen Fällen nur militärischer Einsatz zur Wiederherstellung der Ruhe führte.

Zu alldem kam aber auch noch das endemische Räuberunwesen in vielen Teilen des Imperium Romanum, oder sogar in allen Provinzen, wie Tertullian behauptet: *Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur*.¹² Dagegen fruchteten auch die Bemühungen der Zentralmacht, durch Militärposten, *beneficiarii*, oder durch andere Formen der Sicherheitspolizei aufzukommen¹³, nicht viel: Selbst Soldaten konnten durch Räuberhand sterben, *occisus a latronibus* steht etwa in einem Pridianum aus der Zeit um 100/105.¹⁴ Grundbesitzer stellen

¹¹ C. Dio LI 20.5: ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἑκάστους ταραχώδῃ συχνὰ ἐγίγνετο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μὴδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμείσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανές τι περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

¹² Tertull., *Apol.* 2.8.

¹³ Vgl. z.B. A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassenetze*, *WDZ* 21 (1902), S. 158 ff.; O. HIRSCHFELD, *Die Sicherheitspolizei im röm. Kaiserreich*, in *Kleine Schriften*, 1913, S. 576 ff.

¹⁴ R.O. FINK, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland, Ohio 1971, Nr. 63, Col. II, Z. 10.

eigene Schutzpolizei auf.¹⁵ In meine Liste habe ich Fälle einfacher Wegelagerer nicht aufgenommen, nur Räuberbanden, die ganze Gemeinden gefährdeten oder gegen welche römische Truppen ausgesandt werden mußten. Das Material über *latrones* ist von anderen wiederholt zusammengestellt und ausgewertet worden.¹⁶

Nicht wenige Unruhen haben ihre Ursachen im Hunger. Lebensmittelknappheiten und Hungersnöte, entstanden als Folge von Trockenheit, Mißernten, zu hohen Transportkosten und nicht zuletzt Spekulationen¹⁷ waren im römischen Reich ebenfalls endemisch; sie konnten selbst in der «Kornkammer» Ägypten auftreten.¹⁸ Material dazu hat nach Vorarbeiten von Rostovtzeff R. MacMullen zusammengestellt.¹⁹ Hier mögen nur folgende ergänzende Bemerkungen stehen: Der Handel, insbesondere was Grundnahrungsmittel betrifft, muß im römischen Reich sehr bescheiden gewesen sein, wie ich es an anderer Stelle nachzuweisen versucht habe.²⁰ Ihm standen Transportkosten, Zölle, die niedrige Geldmenge, eine nur sehr dünne Konsumentenschicht und andere Faktoren im Wege. Somit gab es auch keine «Weltmarktpreise», wie es eine wenig beachtete Gaius-Stelle aus dem 2. Jh. bezeugt: Die Preise, besonders für Wein, Öl und Getreide sind in verschiedenen Regionen sehr unterschiedlich; und obwohl das Geld anscheinend überall denselben Wert besitzt, kann man es an einigen Orten leicht zu niedrigen Zinsen, anderswo schwer und nur zu hohen Zinsen erhalten.²¹ Dies führt natürlich zur Verschärfung lokaler Hungernöte und fördert jede Form

¹⁵ M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Die Domänenpolizei in dem röm. Kaiserreiche*, *Philologus* 64 (1905), S. 297 ff.

¹⁶ Vgl. z.B. L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengeschichte* I, Leipzig 1922¹⁰, S. 350 ff.; G. BARBIERI, *Latrones*, in *Diz. epigr.* IV, S. 460 ff.; PFAFF, art. *Latrocinium*, in *RE* XII 1 (1924), Sp. 978 ff.; G. MICKWITZ, art. *Strassenraub*, in *RE* Suppl. VII (1940), Sp. 1239 ff.; L. FLAM-ZUCKERMANN, *Latomus* 29 (1970), S. 451 ff.; MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S. 255 ff.

¹⁷ Vgl. etwa Philostr., *V. Apoll.* I 15; Ulp., *Dig.* XLVII 11.6, pr.; weiteres Material bei MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S. 180 f. und 345, Anm. 20 und 21; Ders., *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*, New Haven 1974, S. 33 und 37 f.; JONES, *Roman World*, S. 21 f.; R. ZIEGLER, *JNG* 27 (1977), S. 29, Anm. 5.

¹⁸ Plin., *paneg.* 31; ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gesellschaft* I, S. 295 f. Anm. 9.

¹⁹ MACMULLEN, *Enemies*, S. 249 ff.; vgl. auch J.K. EVANS, *Wheat Production and its Social Consequences in the Roman World*, *CQ* 31 (1981), S. 428 ff.

²⁰ Th. PEKÁRY, *Zur Bedeutung des Handels in der Antike*, in *Aspekte der historischen Forschung in Frankreich und Deutschland*, ed. G.A. RITTER und R. VIERHAUS, 1981, S. 30 ff. und in *Lagom. Festschrift für P. Berghaus*, hrsg. v. Th. FISCHER und P. ILISCH, Münster, 1981, S. 11 ff.

²¹ Gaius, *Dig.* XIII 4.3: ...*scimus, quam varia sint pretia rerum per singulas civitates, maxime vini olei frumenti: pecuniarum quoque licet videatur una et eadem potestas ubique esse, tamen aliis locis facilis et levibus usuris inveniuntur, aliis difficilior et gravibus usuris.*

von Spekulation. Leider verschweigen uns die Quellen in vielen Fällen, ob Hunger zu Unruhen oder offenen Revolten geführt hat. Denn wenn eine Stadt einen Wohltäter unter anderem deshalb mit Statue und Inschrift ehrt, weil der Betreffende Getreide gekauft und umsonst oder billig verteilt hat, so wird wohlweislich verschwiegen, daß es bereits zu Unruhen gekommen ist. Wie aber so etwas in einer Stadt abgelaufen ist, wissen wir etwa aus der 46. Rede des Dio Chrysostomos.²² Man geht bestimmt nicht fehl in der Annahme, daß die Zahl städtischer Hungerrevolten um ein vielfaches höher ist, als was unsere Quellen zufälligerweise überliefern.

Das überharte oder arrogante Verhalten manch eines Statthalters gegen die Provinzialen — ganz zu schweigen von Erpressungen und ungesetzlichen Forderungen — konnte ebenfalls zu Aufruhr führen, wie wir es in einigen Fällen gesehen haben. Dabei wurden diese Vertreter der römischen Zentralmacht nicht selten tätlich angegriffen oder sogar ermordet. Die Mahnung des Juristen Ulpian kommt nicht von ungefähr: «Für einen guten und bedeutenden Statthalter ist es angemessen dafür Sorge zu tragen, daß die Provinz, die er beherrscht, friedlich und ruhig sei. Was er mit Leichtigkeit erreichen kann, wenn er dafür sorgt, daß seine Provinz von bösen Menschen befreit wird und diesen nachspürt.»²³ Übrigens zählt Fronto zu den wichtigsten Aufgaben auch eines Kaisers: *seditiones compescere, feroces territare*.²⁴ Wie häufig Statthalter ihren Aufgaben nicht gewachsen waren, zeigt eine Zusammenstellung von P.A. Brunt: In der Zeit von Augustus bis Trajan wurde gegen 40 Statthaltern die Repetundenklage erhoben, dazu kommen noch etwa 15 nicht ganz eindeutige Fälle. Mit Sicherheit wurden 28 davon verurteilt oder begingen vorher Selbstmord; in etwa 12 Fällen ist die Verurteilung wahrscheinlich.²⁵

Natürlich äußert sich der Unmut der Bevölkerung nicht nur in Aufständen, zumal auf *seditio* Tod oder Verbannung als Strafe folgte.²⁶

²² Dazu JONES, *Roman World*, S. 19 ff.

²³ Dig. XVIII 13: *Congruit bono et gravi praesidi curare, ut pacata atque quieta provincia sit quam regit. quod non difficile obtinebit, si sollicito agat, ut malis hominibus provincia careat eosque conquirit.*

²⁴ Fronto, *Ep. de eloqu.* 1.5 (Naber 139 = Haines II, S. 52 ff.). Vgl. auch Plin., *Paneg.* 80.3: *O veras principis atque etiam dei curas reconciliare aemulas civitates tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere, intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum infectumque reddere, etc.*

²⁵ P.A. BRUNT, *Historia* 10 (1961), S. 224 ff.

²⁶ Th. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 1899, S. 562 ff.

Die in Ägypten bereits im 1. Jh. n. Chr. einsetzende und im 2. Jh. ständig zunehmende Landflucht, ἀναχώρησις, ist ebenfalls ein deutliches Zeichen dafür, daß es mindestens den unteren Schichten der Bevölkerung selbst in den angeblich glücklichsten Jahrhunderten der römischen Herrschaft nicht besonders gut ging.²⁷

T.R.S. Broughton hat bereits 1938 vorsichtig Folgendes formuliert: «We cannot exclude the possibility that the lower classes in the towns had benefited little, that the prosperous façade concealed much unrest.»²⁸ Die Zahl der meist aus wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Gründen entstandenen Unruhen und Revolten liegt in der von mir behandelten Zeit überraschenderweise weit höher als in der politisch so wenig stabilen hellenistischen Zeit.²⁹ Offenbar war man mit der römischen Herrschaft nicht immer und überall einverstanden. Dies zeigen die sich Jahre oder Jahrzehnte lang hinziehenden Aufstände in neu eroberten Gebieten wie in Spanien, Pannonien und anderswo; so sind wenigstens teilweise auch die jüdischen Aufstände zu verstehen. Und etliche Ereignisse des Jahres 69 sind m.E. ein Zeichen dafür, daß verschiedene Stämme oder Völker im Reich die Hoffnung noch immer nicht ganz aufgegeben haben, das römische Joch endlich abschütteln zu können. Interessant ist freilich in diesem Zusammenhang, daß das Postumus-Reich in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh., als es der Bevölkerung Galliens wirtschaftlich offensichtlich noch schlimmer ging als früher, keine Lösung von Rom beabsichtigte, wenigstens kann man aus den Münzbildern und -legenden, den einzigen zuverlässigen Quellen dieses Sonderreiches, nichts herauslesen, was auf so eine Tendenz schließen ließe.

Sicherlich haben alle diese Unruhen und Aufstände, selbst die schwersten, wie die weit verbreiteten des Jahres 69, das römische Reich in seiner Existenz nicht gefährdet; viele waren ohnehin nur von ausgesprochen lokaler Bedeutung. Daß sie das Imperium nicht erschüttern konnten, hatte verschiedene Ursachen: die fast gänzlich fehlende Kommunikation, die verschiedenen Gruppeninteressen, die gut organisierte römische Militärmacht und einiges andere, worauf wir hier nicht näher eingehen wollen. Nur auf eine mögliche Folge der vielen Revolten

²⁷ H. BRAUNERT, *Die Binnenwanderung*, Bonn 1964, S. 164 ff. Vgl. auch die Klagen von Bauern, wie z.B. aus Histria (*Moesia inferior*) aus der Zeit des Antoninus Pius. J. et L. ROBERT, *Bull. épigr.* 1958, Nr. 341 und J. STOIAN, *Dacia* N.S. 3 (1959), S. 369 ff.

²⁸ T.R.S. BROUGHTON, in T. FRANK, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV, Baltimore 1938, S. 812.

²⁹ Vgl. A. FUKS, *PP* 3 (1966), S. 137 ff. und *AncSoc* 5 (1974), S. 51 ff.

möchte ich noch hinweisen: Zusammen mit Hunger, Seuchen und feindlichen Einfällen führen auch Revolten und ihre Niederwerfung zu einer Dezimierung der Bevölkerung und damit der Steuerzahler. Auf der anderen Seite stehen die wachsenden Staatsausgaben, besonders im Militär- und Verwaltungsbereich — es reicht, hier auf die stetige Zunahme der Zahl hochbesoldeter kaiserlicher Prokuratoren hinzuweisen. Diese Schere führt zu den häufig behandelten Geldentwertungen im 3. und 4. Jh., die jedoch schon im 2. Jh. beginnen. Somit gehören Unruhen und Aufstände mit zu den Ursachen der Reichskrise und des späteren Unterganges.

Die anfangs zitierte Aristides-Rede gibt ein panegyrisch-idealisiertes Bild der Verhältnisse im römischen Reich (vgl. bes. das oben zum Jahr 157/8 gesagte). Das Imperium Romanum war weder unter Augustus, noch unter den «guten» Kaisern des 2. Jh. eine ausschließlich in Frieden und Wohlstand lebende glückliche Völkerfamilie.

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MARCUS AURELIUS AND «ZEUS KASIOS» AT CARNUNTUM

Recent excavations at Carnuntum have raised anew chronological and interpretive problems connected with two weather miracles which came to the aid of Marcus Aurelius and his troops in their struggle with the Marcomanni and Quadi. The new evidence allows a closer examination of the means by which Marcus used the miracles both to enhance his prestige and to restore the confidence and morale of his army. After a series of disasters which included the burning of Optergium and the siege of Aquileia, Marcus Aurelius was at last able in 172 to undertake an offensive against the German tribes north of the Danube.¹ The chronology of the following campaigns and of the course of the war is uncertain and confusing. The ancient sources are lamentably defective.² It seems that Marcus' first campaign was directed against the Marcomanni in 172; then in 173, he turned against the Quadi.³

It has been argued on the basis of Dio LXXI 11 that the war against the Quadi preceded that against the Marcomanni.⁴ The passage reports that Marcus remained in Pannonia and received embassies from many of the Germanic tribes, including the Quadi who were seeking peace terms. The Quadi obtained peace at the price of supplying cattle and horses and promising to return 13,000 prisoners and deserters. The reference to Marcus remaining in Pannonia has been taken as referring to his departure from Carnuntum in 173/4 and the reference to the embassies as the result of an overwhelming victory only possible as a sequel to the successful offensive in 172.⁵

¹ For the attack of the Marcomanni and Quadi on Northern Italy, see Amm. Marc. XXIX 6.1. The date for the opening of the offensive was established by J. DOBIÁŠ, *Le monnayage de Marc-Aurèle et les bas-reliefs historiques contemporains*, RN series IV 35 (1932), p. 127-172; see especially p. 128-132. This conclusion was reinforced by W. ZWIKKER, *Studien zur Markussäule* (Allard Pierson Stichting, *Archaeol.-Hist. Bijdragen*, 8), Amsterdam 1941, p. 128 ff.

² W. ZWIKKER, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 128 ff.

³ I adopt here (and argue for) the chronology of A. BIRLEY, *Marcus Aurelius*, London 1966, Appendix III, p. 323-327. This chronology is also followed by H.W. BÖHME, *Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Markomannenkriege (166-180 n.Chr.)*, JRGZ 22 (*Festschrift Hund*), 2 (1975), p. 197.

⁴ W. ZWIKKER, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 189-191.

⁵ W. ZWIKKER, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 190 links it with Eutropius VIII 13.1 who states that Marcus remained at Carnuntum for three years.

These arguments are hardly compelling. The reference to Marcus remaining in Pannonia can as easily refer to the period before he moved north with the army over the Danube. The embassies may well have been the result of the massive defeat of the Marcomanni at the crossing of the Danube, presumably on their return from their attack on Italy. The Quadi as well had been involved in the attack on northern Italy and it may have been the fear of suffering the same fate as the Marcomanni that induced them to come to terms with the emperor.⁶

This can be further supported by some general considerations. The Sixth Imperial acclamation of 171 is rightly linked with the victory over the Marcomanni at the Danube crossing.⁷ This great victory must have weakened the Marcomanni who consistently appear as the most dangerous of Rome's enemies and who, in the later tradition, give their name to the first phase of the war.⁸ It would make military sense for Marcus to proceed first against the most dangerous of the tribes while they were still suffering the effects of their earlier defeat. The significance of the Marcomanni from the Roman perspective may be signalled by the appearance on Marcus' coinage of the legend «GERMANIA SUBIECTA» and the award to Commodus of the title Germanicus on October 15 of 172.⁹ These appear as understandable preliminary steps to Marcus' own assumption of the title and points to the significance of the enemy of 172 — that is, the Marcomanni. The delay of Marcus' assumption of the title would then be due to the break with the Quadi, towards whom he felt so passionate a hatred for renewing a struggle which appeared almost won.¹⁰

Marcus' base of operation during this period was at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior. It was well situated for operations against both the Marcomanni and the Quadi.¹¹ The first scenes on his column portray the departure of his army north of the Danube from this base.¹² In the

⁶ *HA, Marcus* 21.13.

⁷ A. BIRLEY, *op.cit.* (n.3), p. 228-229.

⁸ *HA, Marcus* 13.1.

⁹ Coinage, *BMC IV*, nos. 1413-1416, 1431. Commodus' title and the date of its award is noted by *HA, Comm.* 11.14

¹⁰ Dio LXXI 13.1.

¹¹ Eutropius VIII 13.1; Eusebius, *Chronicon* 207e Helm; Orosius VII 15.6. Most likely the triennium was 171-173. See W. ZWICKER, *op.cit.* (n.1), p. 187.

¹² The scenes of the column are cited according to the edition of E. PETERSEN et. al., *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom*, Munich 1896. The scenes in question are nos. I-III. On the archaeology of the territory of the Marcomanni and the Quadi, see H.W. BÖHME, *loc.cit.* (n.3), p. 188.

course of the campaigns north of the Danube, two weather miracles occurred which find their place on the column and are also attested in the literary sources. The first (attested only in the *Historia Augusta*) is the Lightning Miracle. As a result of a prayer by the emperor, lightning destroyed an enemy siege machine.¹³ The second miracle is the Rain Miracle. A rainstorm saved a Roman army beset by thirst and engaged in battle with the Quadi.¹⁴ These two miracles have assumed crucial importance because of the column. They offer the possibility that they can be dated and can thereby solve the question of whether the column is chronological.¹⁵

The ancient sources offer three dates for the Rain Miracle. Dio, in Xiphilinus' epitome, connects the Rain Miracle with Marcus' seventh imperial acclamation which can be dated to the summer of 174.¹⁶ This date cannot be accepted. Dio ascribes the miracle to an Egyptian magician, Arnuphis, who invoked Hermes Aeries and other daimons to save the Romans.¹⁷ A remarkable series of coins, which begin in Marcus 27 (December 172-173) and continue into 28, interrupt a series of war-related issues with portrayals of Mercury in Greco-Roman guise. The crucial issues for identification are the sestertii which portray a temple or aediculum with an unusual curvilinear pediment and four herms serving as columns.¹⁸ The curvilinear pediment is of Egyptian provenance and serves to identify the Hermes of the coinage with the Egyptian Hermes Aeries of the Rain Miracle.¹⁹ The sestertii as well as

¹³ *HA, Marcus* 24.4. «*Fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit.*» It is represented in scene XI on the column.

¹⁴ Tertullian, *Apol.* 5.6; *Ad Scapulam* 4.5; Dio LXXI 8 and 10; Eusebius, *Chronicon* 270f Helm and *H.E.* V 5.1-7; Themistius, *Orat.* 15.191b and 34.21; *HA, Marcus* 24.4; Claudian, *Paneg. de Sexto Consulatu Honorii* 340-351; Orosius VII 15.8-12; *Orac. Syb.* XII 187ff; *Suda*, s.v. Arnuphis, p. 365; and Julianos, p. 642 Adler. The false letter of Marcus is extant in a 14th Century MS-Codex Parisinus Graecinus 450 as part of Justin's *First Apology*. The text (which is defective) is most easily accessible in C.R. HAINES, *Fronto* II, London 1920, p. 300-305. On its text, see R. MERKELBACH, *Ein korrupter Satz im Brief Marc Aurels über das Regenwunder im Feldzug gegen die Quaden*, *AAntHung* 16 (1968), p. 339-341. The miracle is scene XVI on the column.

¹⁵ See below n. 107.

¹⁶ LXXI 10. The seventh acclamation may belong to June as it appears on the second issue of TP XXVIII. See *BMC* 4, p. 635 ff.

¹⁷ LXXI 8.

¹⁸ Marcus 27 — *RIC* III, nos. 285, 285a; *BMC* IV, no. 583 (denarii). *RIC* III, nos. 1070, 1070a, 1071-1073; *BMC* IV, nos. 1461-1463 (dupondii). *RIC* III, nos. 1077-1082; *BMC* IV, nos. 1441-1448 (sestertii). Marcus 28 — *RIC* III, nos. 308-309; *BMC* IV, nos. 601-603 and 611 (denarii).

¹⁹ The Egyptian origin of this building was analyzed in detail by W. WEBER, *Ein Hermes-Tempel des Kaisers Marcus*, *AHAW* 7 (1910), p. 1-43. His conclusion that the

dupondii and denarii all bear the unusual legend «RELIGIO AUGUSTI» which has no parallel in Marcus' coinage. It occurs again only under Valerian, in association with Diana.²⁰ The combination of the temple and this unusual legend must surely refer to the Hermes Aerios of the Rain Miracle which must thus be dated to 172 or 173. An attempt has been made to challenge this identification. M. Grant has argued that deity on the coin is Mercurius Augustus. He takes the «religio» legend of the coinage as referring to honors paid to Augustus and the temple of the sestertii as a reference to the conquest of Egypt.²¹ Several points disprove this interpretation. First, this mode of reference to Augustus is so obscure as to be unrecognizable. Second, there seems to be no obvious reason to make any specific reference to Egypt in such a context, especially since the anniversary of its annexation was three years before. Finally, the issue appears in the middle of a series of emissions with reference to the German wars and therefore should be explained in such a context. Again, this dates the Rain Miracle to 172 or 173.

The Chronicon of Eusebius presents two possible dates. The version of Jerome places the event in 173; the Armenian version, in 172.²² The date of Jerome's translation is more likely than that of Eusebius' original version, but no faith can be placed in these dates without independent confirmation.²³

The excavations at Carnuntum appear to raise the possibility of an exact date for both the Lightning and the Rain Miracles.²⁴ Attention

temple is a conscious reference to Egypt is borne out by egyptianizing references in the Third Pompeian style, analyzed by P. GILBERT, *Le fronton arrondi en Égypte et dans l'art gréco-romain*, CE 33 (1942), p. 83-90.

²⁰ RIC V.1, nos. 114 (Valerian), 29 (Saloninus). See L. DE BLOIS, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus*, Leiden 1976, p. 164.

²¹ M. GRANT, *Roman Anniversary Issues (49 B.C. - 375 A.D.)*, Cambridge 1950, p. 107-109.

²² See note 14 above.

²³ On the priority of Jerome's version to that of the Armenian, see A.A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition*, Lewisburg 1979, p. 76ff. On the reliability of Eusebius' dates, see T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1981, p. 120 and n. 115. A.G. ROOS, *Het Regenwonder op de Zuil van Marcus Aurelius (Mededelingen d. Nederl. Akad. v. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk., N.R. 6,1)*, Amsterdam 1943, p. 2-6 suggested that Eusebius was dating the event by Olympiads and thus the date was actually Olympiad 238. But other events in the reign, such as the death of Lucius Verus (Marcus 9), are assigned to specific years which tells against such an approach.

²⁴ See W. JOBST, *II Id Juni 172 n. Chr.: Der Tag des Blitz- und Regenwunders (SAWW, 335)*, Wien 1978.

has been concentrated on the Pfaffenberg, a ridge which rises to the East of the city and is its natural termination, forming the western spur of the Hainburger Mountains.²⁵ The Pfaffenberg appears to have been, despite its unusual position, the Capitolium of Carnuntum.²⁶ There appears to be no evidence of a pre-Roman cult on the Pfaffenberg and the first datable building begins in the reign of Hadrian under whom Carnuntum obtained municipal status.²⁷ By the Third Century, the Pfaffenberg had developed a complex of temples, altars, and monuments centered on the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, and the Imperial Cult. The excavations have revealed a series of three temples. The first temple is so badly damaged that any identification is impossible. Temple II has now been identified as a temple of the Capitoline Triad and, on the basis of the style of sculptural fragments, is dated to the late Second or early Third Century.²⁸ It may well be connected with the grant of colonial status by Septimius Severus.²⁹ Temple III (which is initially Hadrianic in date) appears to be a temple to Jupiter. In its environs, fragments of two greater-than-life-size statues — one female and the other male — were found. The male statue appears to have been enthroned with a lightning bundle in his right hand. An eagle in a sitting position was found nearby, confirming the identification of the statue as a representation of Jupiter. This interpretation is further reinforced by a wall (also of Hadrianic date) erected at the expense of the Juventus of Jupiter Dolichenus which also provides our earliest evidence for this deity from Commagene in Pannonia.³⁰ The concentration on the cult of Jupiter is hardly surprising in the Danubian area where dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus predominate over those to any other deity.³¹ Northwest of and connected with the Hadrianic temple are two large altar bases. These are associated with a further monument of Hadrianic date.

²⁵ The fullest description is by W. JOBST, in H. STIGLITZ, M. KANDLER and W. JOBST, *Carnuntum*, in *ANRW* II 6, Berlin – New York 1977, p. 701-720.

²⁶ This was the conjecture of E. Borman. See W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n. 25), p. 705. Its position is eccentric as evidenced by the location of the capitolia at Scarbantia and Savaria, also in Pannonia Superior.

²⁷ Temple III appears to be the earliest building and a denarius of Sabina found in the foundation deposit appears to confirm this date. See W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 22. On the date of the grant of municipal status by which Carnuntum became Municipium Aelium Carnuntum, see H. STIGLITZ, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 586.

²⁸ W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 713.

²⁹ See E. SWOBODA, *Carnuntum*, Graz - Köln 1964⁴, p. 120.

³⁰ P. MERLAT, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, Rennes 1951, n. 121.

³¹ A. Mócsy, art. *Pannonia*, in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), col. 741.

Southeast of the altar bases are the remains of a monumental column and base. This was probably originally dedicated to Hadrian on the basis of an inscription found near the base of the column.³²

The building of this complex with its stress both on Jupiter and what must be seen as the Imperial Cult is probably connected with the grant of municipal status.³³ Such close connections between Jupiter and the imperial presence readily conform to the general lines of Hadrianic policy. This policy stresses the links between Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the West and various forms of Zeus in the Greek East as a means of reinforcing the emperor's claims to legitimacy.³⁴ But modifications appear to have been introduced during, or soon after, Marcus' stay at Carnuntum. The remains of a greater-than-life-size statue and head (which have unfortunately disappeared) were found near the base of the column.³⁵ The statue appears to have crowned the monumental column.³⁶ Jobst has identified the head as that of Marcus by comparing it with other portraits of the emperor. Although the head is badly preserved, it violates one of the normal characteristics of portraits of Marcus in this period — the change in hairstyle. The portrait busts of the 170's show the hair off the forehead and highcombed.³⁷

The only other portrait of the emperor found at Carnuntum, a bronze bust (presumably produced locally), is of some help in resolving the problem of identification.³⁸ It is a product of the same provincial milieu as the monumental statue. It also displays a hairstyle in which the hair partially covers the forehead. It is similar as well in the portrayal of the beard and lips. A dedication from Temple III offers further, but not conclusive, support. It is a dedication on behalf of Marcus and Commodus, dated 11 June 172.³⁹

³² W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 21.

³³ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 24.

³⁴ On the special relationship of Hadrian to Jupiter, see J.R. FEARS, *The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology*, in *ANRW* II 17.1, Berlin 1981, p. 86-89. On Hadrian and Zeus, J. BEAUJEU, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire I: la politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)*, Paris 1955, p. 165ff.

³⁵ W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 703. A photograph of the head is extant. See W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), Abb. 11 and 12.

³⁶ See the restoration of H. THÜR, in W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), Abb. 9.

³⁷ M. WEGNER, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* II 4, Berlin 1939, p. 44.

³⁸ R. NOLL, *Kunst der Römerzeit in Österreich*, Salzburg 1949, no. 24.

³⁹ *AE* 1982, 778. The restoration in line 2 of Parthicus is supported by the practice of many official inscriptions despite *HA*, *Marcus* 12.9. See K.-P. JOHNE, *Zu den Siegenamen der Kaiser Marc Aurel und Commodus*, *Klio* 48 (1967), p. 178-179. The «consistentium» of line 3 proves conclusively the hypothesis of A. BIRLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 234-235 that Commodus accompanied Marcus Aurelius during the campaign of 172.

South of this apparent monument to Marcus, in the direction of the temple to the Capitoline Triad, stood a considerable number of altars. The number of identifiable dedications had already passed thirty by the time of publication of Jobst's monograph in 1978.⁴⁰ The dedications are all to a particular form of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, abbreviated JOMK. Five of the fragmentary inscriptions refer to a particular day — III Id. Juniis.⁴¹ The earliest in date bears the same consular date as the dedicatory plaque found near the monument to Marcus — that is, 172.⁴² The others, except for one inscription, which is too fragmentary for the consulate to be restored, date from the period of the Tetrarchy and the early Fourth Century. 782 is in an extremely poor state of preservation. Both Jobst and the editors of *Année Epigraphique* read Di[ocletian]o II.⁴³ But there are problems with such a restoration. There appears to be room for only three or four letters on the stone. There is absolutely no space on the stone for «DN», or any other such abbreviation; nor is there any room for «Aug.» following the name. This would have been Diocletian's first imperial consulate since he was proclaimed on March 7, 285.⁴⁴ His colleague in the second consulate was T. Cl. Aurelius Aristobulus. It seems impossible to me that no stress would be given to his imperial status in this, his first consulate as emperor. Therefore, the identification of the consul of this inscription with Diocletian is very unlikely. This is reinforced by 783 which carries a regular titlature. Unfortunately, I can suggest no alternative.

The latest inscription is of the early Fourth Century and must date to 313. It reads:

[---]/ mag[istr]o m[---/I]II idus Iun(ias) d(omino)/
[n(ostro)] / Constant() III Au[---co(n)s(ulibus)].

Jobst restores it as if a second consul were mentioned. Therefore, this date can be either the second consulate of Constantine in 313 or that of his son, Constantius, in 342.⁴⁵ There is clearly no room on the stone for another name.⁴⁶ Between April and circa August, Constantine is

⁴⁰ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 25-26.

⁴¹ *AE* 1982, 779-780; 782-784.

⁴² *AE* 1982, 779.

⁴³ For a photograph, see W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), Abb. 20.

⁴⁴ T.D. BARNES, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982, p. 11.

⁴⁵ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 21 n.4, Abb. 21-22; and *AE* 1982, p. 209.

⁴⁶ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), Abb. 21-22.

attested as the sole consul in his own territory. Though Licinus' territory included Carnuntum, this inscription may well represent the same phenomenon.⁴⁷

The extant dedications, though small in number, appear to cluster in two groups: one under Marcus; the other under the Tetrarchy. The prominence of Jupiter in the second group is in accord with Diocletian's stress on his descent from Jupiter and the general religious ideology of the Tetrarchy.⁴⁸ Nor should the dedication to Constantine occasion surprise when a panegyrist, in the same year, compares the emperor to the god who sends his thunderbolts as messengers of both happy and sad tidings.⁴⁹

The dedications under Marcus (which at present appear to be the earliest) need further explanation. In eight of twenty-four cases, the normal formula of dedication to J(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) is further qualified by the addition of a K.⁵⁰ In addition, the remains of a free-standing statue (which Jobst identifies with Jupiter) can be connected with these dedications. The head appears to be a fairly typical Jupiter type, with a strongly stressed crown of hair, a prominent beard with double curls on the chin, and an upwardly directed gaze.⁵¹ A three-pointed iron shaft decorated with lead was found near the head. It fit a socket in the crown of the head.⁵² In addition, the right and left hands were found — the right holding a globe and the left, a sceptre.⁵³ Though the statue is fairly typical in most respects and the sceptre is a normal attribute of Jupiter, two elements are strikingly unusual: the globe in the right hand and the trident-like metallic insert in the skull.⁵⁴

The globe raises some important problems. It had been appropriated as a symbol of the emperor's authority as world ruler. Its connection

⁴⁷ T. D. BARNES, *op. cit.* (n.44), p. 95.

⁴⁸ W. SESTON, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie I* (BEFAR, 162), Paris 1946, p. 210ff.

⁴⁹ *Pan. Lat.* IX(12) 13.2.

⁵⁰ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 30.

⁵¹ There are some good parallels from the immediate area in bronzes found at Zollfeld and Enns. See R. FLEISCHER, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Österreich*, Mainz 1967, nos. 1 and 5.

⁵² W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 32 and for additional details, see *Id.*, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 716-717.

⁵³ See the restoration in W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), Abh. 29. It is not clear from Jobst's description why the statue is restored in a standing position.

⁵⁴ I agree with W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 716 that this has nothing to do with a *meniskos*.

with Jupiter also appears to be of Roman origin.⁵⁵ But the number of representations of the emperor with this attribute far exceeds those of Jupiter. The type which our statue displays (with globe in hand) is almost exclusively found on money. It occurs in both standing and sitting versions. The sceptre or lance often appears as a second attribute, as in this example.⁵⁶ The globe is also used in conjunction with abstractions like Italia, Fides Militum, and Securitas which has strong imperial associations.⁵⁷ Thus, the use of the globe with this statue can be seen as establishing a special link between the emperor and Jupiter in a singular and unusual manner.

The trident-shaped skull attachment is harder to place and raises the question of the identification of the form of Jupiter which is further complicated by the previously unattested dedications to JOMK. There is no parallel in the Danubian area for such an attribute. In general, little is known about native Illyrian and Celtic gods in this area. Structures for worship appear to all be of Roman date.⁵⁸

Traces of pre-Roman religion appear in proportion of dedications to deities like Silvanus and Diana and in the appearance of certain apparently Pannonian divinities such as Aecorna, Rioidiaspe, and Didone as well as the Matres Pannoniorum.⁵⁹ The almost total adoption of the local gods through an «interpretatio Romana» makes the attempt to evaluate unusual attributes extraordinarily difficult. Jupiter, himself, presents a particular problem. He is easily the most honored god in the Pannonian provinces, though at Carnuntum, Silvanus (in his various forms) takes pride of place.⁶⁰ Most of the dedications, however, are

⁵⁵ A. SCHLACHTER, *Der Globus: Seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ed. F. GISINGER), Berlin 1927, p. 93. For the representation of the emperor as Jupiter, see H.G. NIEMEYER, *Studien zur statuerischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser (Monumenta Artis Romanae, 7)*, Berlin 1968, p. 59-60.

⁵⁶ A. SCHLACHTER, *op. cit.* (n.55), p. 94. On the coinage of Marcus, the globe appears with normal frequency. Marcus is twice portrayed holding a globe on the coinage of his first year, i.e. *BMC* IV, no. 24 (denarius); 846 (dupondius).

⁵⁷ See for example, *BMC* IV, nos. 721, 761, and 1149.

⁵⁸ Although the editors of *AE* 1982, p. 207 take «leuga», a Celtic unit of measurement known in the *Tres Galliae* since Trajan, as an indication that the Pfaffenburg had originally been the home of a Celtic god of heights, there is absolutely no trace of pre-Roman remains on the site. See W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 709.

⁵⁹ For a list of pre-Roman deities in the Pannonian provinces, see E.B. THOMAS, *Religion*, in A. LENGYEL and G.T.B. RADAN, *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest and Lexington (Ky.) 1980, p. 178-179. For the gods worshipped at Carnuntum, see E. SWOBODA, *op. cit.* (n.29), p. 187-189.

⁶⁰ A. MÓCSY, in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), col. 728. E. SWOBODA, *op. cit.* (n.29), p. 184 draws attention to the prevalence of Silvanus at Carnuntum.

either by officials or soldiers. Both Roman and Eastern forms of Jupiter are found.⁶¹ At Carnuntum, dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus are the most frequent. Eastern versions of Jupiter, including Dolichenus, Heliopolitanus, and Tavianus also appear, as well as dedications linking Jupiter either with a specific god or in company with all the gods and goddesses.⁶² Of these, Dolichenus is by far the most frequent, particularly in dedications connected with the military.

Neither the Roman forms nor any of the eastern versions of Jupiter offer any suggestion in their iconography of a trident-like attachment to the skull, though various forms of Jupiter are often represented holding the traditional thunderbolt.⁶³ The apparent significance of the trident appears to be its symbolization of the lightning.⁶⁴ The sculptor may have decided to portray lightning as an attribute in this form on the basis of two considerations. First, both of the statue's hands grasp symbols of sovereignty and that is clearly the main thrust of the representation. Second, the sculptor may have been influenced in his positioning of the symbol of the lightning by the tendency in eastern forms of Zeus to crown the figure with a representational attribute.⁶⁵

Though parallels may be adduced, the problem of identity and the significance of this deity are not immediately apparent. Since he appears to be a form of Jupiter, it is tempting to equate the statue with the special form of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, signalled by the unusual abbreviation JOMK. But following normal grammatical rules, one would expect the letter following the K to be an «A».⁶⁶ Thus, Kapitoli-nus immediately suggests itself. But K is in fact never used in this

⁶¹ A. MÓCSY, *loc. cit.* (n.60), col. 728 presents a list of the most common epithets of Jupiter found in the dedications.

⁶² E. SWOBODA, *op. cit.* (n.29), p. 184. A Jupiter O. M. Ammonius of Egyptian origin should be added from *CIL* III 11128.

⁶³ E.B. THOMAS, *loc. cit.* (n. 59), p. 183.

⁶⁴ A.B. COOK, *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion* II, Cambridge 1925, p. 786-798 convincingly argues that the trident of Poseidon was originally a lightning symbol and the equivalent of the thunderbolt of Zeus. His figure 766 reproduces a deity from the Augustan house near the Villa Farnesina which may be a representation of Jupiter with a trident.

⁶⁵ So the modius usually shown on the head of Serapis. There is an interesting bronze of Jupiter Dolichenus in Vienna on which the hair is done in six rigid leaves surrounding the usual Phrygian cap which bears a decided resemblance to the trident on the Carnuntum statue. See R. FLEISCHER, *op. cit.* (n.51), n. 19 and p. 136.

⁶⁶ Donatus, *GL* IV 368.7 Keil. This convention was maintained in papyri into the Second Century. See R.D. ANDERSON, P.G. PARSONS and R.G.M. NISBET, *Elegiacs by Gallus from Qsar Ibrim*, *JRS* 69 (1979), p. 134.

abbreviation, though it does occur when Kapitolinus is used in a topographical sense.⁶⁷

There are other possible epithets of Jupiter that have an initial «Ca» combination, but none of them provide any reason for, or explanation why, they should be selected in this case.⁶⁸

Jobst has attempted to identify both the statue and the K of the inscriptions with Zeus Kasios.⁶⁹ The choice by Marcus of such a deity could be viewed as homage to his predecessor under whom the first large-scale building had taken place on the Pfaffenberg and would be a part of the infiltration of eastern weather gods into the Danubian area. Most of all, it would be a way of linking Hadrian's lightning wonder with Marcus' similar experience.⁷⁰ But there are serious objections to such an identification.

The sole notice of Hadrian's experience on Mons Casius near Seleucia Pieria appears in the *Historia Augusta*.⁷¹ It claims that while Hadrian was at Antioch, he ascended Mons Casius to view the rising sun. A storm arose which killed both the victims of an impending sacrifice as well as the priest in charge of the sacrifice.⁷² The ancient Mons Casius (which should be identified with the modern Jebel el Akm) stands 5318 feet high. The ancients claimed that it was possible to see the sun rise during the last quarter of the night while the surrounding land was still in darkness.⁷³ The *Historia Augusta* apparently places the event during Hadrian's second journey to the East. He journeyed from Athens, by way of Syria, and was in Egypt before the end of August, 130.⁷⁴ During this journey, Hadrian is attested in Antioch in June, 129. It was

⁶⁷ *CIL* VIII 6981; *ILS* 1066, 1102, 1191, 2103, 4291a. In *CIL* XIV 693, Kapitolinus is used as a cognomen.

⁶⁸ For lists of epithets of Jupiter, see THULIN, in *RE* X 1 (1917), cols. 1142-1144 and W.H. ROSCHER, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* II 1, Leipzig 1890-1894 (= Hildesheim 1965), cols. 750-753.

⁶⁹ First suggested *loc. cit.* (n. 25), p. 716 and more fully developed *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 30ff.

⁷⁰ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 33-34.

⁷¹ *Hadrian* 14.3.

⁷² J. SCHWARTZ, *Sur la date de l'Histoire Auguste*, in *Bonn. HA Coll.* 1966-1967, Bonn 1968, p. 93, argues that this incident was fabricated by the author of the *HA* on the basis of Ammianus Marcellinus XXII. He has been sufficiently refuted by R. SYME, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968, p. 27 n.3 and *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971, p. 115.

⁷³ Pliny, *NH* V 80. Hadrian had earlier ascended Mt. Etna with the same purpose in mind (*HA, Hadrian* 13.3).

⁷⁴ P.J. SIJPESTIJN, *A New Document Concerning Hadrian's Visit to Egypt*, *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 111.

presumably at this time that the incident occurred (if the *Historia Augusta* presents the correct version). The notice comes within a series of measures that Hadrian had taken and difficulties which he had experienced at Antioch in this year. It has recently been persuasively argued that the material on Hadrian's Antiochene sojourn in 129/130 derives in part from additions to the *HA*'s main source — that is, from Marius Maximus.⁷⁵ The immediate proximity of the Lightning Miracle, as well as the fact that the report of the miracle in the *Vita Marci* is a palpable addition to the main source, appears to point to Marius Maximus as the author of this notice as well (thereby illustrating one of that author's predilections).

Dio reports a miraculous dream which Hadrian had, but dates it immediately before the start of his reign. According to Dio, Hadrian dreamed that a fire descended from heaven (although the sky was perfectly clear), fell on the left side of his throat and then passed to the right side without doing harm. No connection with Zeus Kasios is mentioned and the event presumably took place at the governor's residence at Antioch.⁷⁶ Though it cannot be resolved with any certainty, the two incidents do not appear to be doublets of each other. Whereas the first has obvious implications for Hadrian's difficult position at his accession and could serve as a support for his imperial claims, the second performs no such function. Their patterns are different enough to justify their being seen as two separate incidents. There is a parallel as well with the miracles under Marcus. Just as the Lightning Miracle is omitted by Dio, so the miracle on Mons Casius is also excluded. In both cases, they owe their inclusion in the *Historia Augusta* to the interests of an author used as a subsidiary source, Marius Maximus.⁷⁷

The god who vouchsafed this miracle to Hadrian appears to have originally been of Hittite origin.⁷⁸ His two most famous centers of cult were on the Mons Casius (already mentioned) near Seleucia Pieria and

⁷⁵ R. SYME, *Hadrian and Antioch*, in *Historia Augusta Papers*, Oxford 1983, p. 180-188 = *Bonn. HA Coll. 1979-1981*, Bonn 1983, p. 321-332. In *Emperors and Biography* (cit. n. 72), he had argued that most of 14.8-16.7 should be assigned to Marius Maximus.

⁷⁶ LXIX 2.2.

⁷⁷ W. WEBER, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1907, p. 236, prefers the version of the *HA* because he claims it shows a greater sense of freshness. J. BEAUJEU, *op. cit.* (n.34), p. 270 sees the accounts of Dio and the *HA* as different versions of the same incident with that of the *HA* directed towards «les esprits plus crédules».

⁷⁸ H. SCHWABL, art. *Zeus I: Epiklesen*, in *RE X A* (1972), col. 320 and in *RE Suppl. XV* (1978), col. 1177.

on a small hill near Lake Serbonitis on the road to Pelusium (which was about nine miles distant).⁷⁹ In Greece there was an important cult center at Cassiopeia in Corcyra where Zeus Kasios was portrayed enthroned with a sceptre in the classical style.⁸⁰ Dedications to the god have been found as far west as Carthage.⁸¹ The coinage at Seleucia Pieria shows no cult image of the god. It typically shows what may be the sacred stone of the god itself in a shrine with four pillars and a pyramidal roof. An eagle surmounts the roof.⁸² It may well be that Zeus Kasios was aniconic. There is no evidence of a cult statue. Hadrian's epigram to accompany the dedication to god by Trajan in 113 probably used the freedom accorded by this to conceive of Kasios in the classical shape of Zeus.⁸³ Hadrian's experience at this time on Mons Casius must have made an impression on him for it was probably on his entry to Egypt in 120 that he founded or restored a temple of Zeus Kasios in Pelusium itself.⁸⁴

In his Egyptian manifestation, Zeus Kasios had come to be identified with the young Horus, that is Harpokrates.⁸⁵ The equation of the young Horus with the Kasian Zeus is difficult to understand. But it seems that at least in the Fourth Century, there was a connection between Zeus Kasios and the sun.⁸⁶ However, in his role as the young sun, Harpokrates, Horus also combined aspects of the god of fertility. He was a provider of bread and agricultural sustenance.⁸⁷ The celebra-

⁷⁹ The cult at Pelusium was probably derived from Syrians resident in the area. See A. SALAČ, *Zeus Kasios*, *BCH* 46 (1922), p. 180. Salač quotes the ancient literary evidence for Egyptian Kasios on p. 166.

⁸⁰ A. ADLER, art. *Kasios*, in *RE* X 2 (1919), col. 1127.

⁸¹ *SEG* XXIII 477.

⁸² See *BMC, Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria*, London 1899, Trajan nos. 36-45; Pius no. 47; Severus no. 50; Caracalla nos. 52 and 56; Elagabalus no. 57 and Severus Alexander no. 58. Zeus Kasios is never given the thunderbolt as an attribute on the city's coinage. But on occasion, he was credited with its use. See Libanius, *Orat.* 11.116.

⁸³ *Anth. Pal.* 6.332 in suitably Homeric language.

⁸⁴ For an improved version of the inscription, see A. SALAČ, *loc. cit.* (n.79), p. 166-167. Salač believes that Hadrian built the temple but two arguments from silence tell against this conclusion. First, there is no evidence of it on Hadrian's Alexandrine coinage; and second, the cult statue is already recorded on the coinage of Trajan. It can be convincingly argued that this was the cult statue at Egyptian Mons Casius. See C. BONNER, *Harpokrates (Zeus Kasios) of Pelusium*, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), p. 58.

⁸⁵ On Harpokrates, see W. HELCK and E. OTTO (edd.), *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* II (1977), col. 1003-1007.

⁸⁶ So A. SALAČ, *loc. cit.* (n.79), p. 178 citing Julian, *Misopogon* 361. But given Julian's syncretistic tendencies, it is uncertain evidence.

⁸⁷ *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* II (1977), col. 1005.

tion of the cult at Antioch also included a festival in honor of Triptolemos.⁸⁸ In the Greco-Roman world, Triptolemos was portrayed as a pretty, rather effeminate youngster.⁸⁹ It may have been this connection as well as that with the sun that helped develop the Pelusiac Zeus Kasios in the form of an Apolline figure.⁹⁰

A literary description of the statue in Pelusium is preserved in the Second Century author Achilleus Tatius.⁹¹ Kasios is described as a young man (like Apollo) who holds a pomegranate in his extended right hand. This representation is borne out by coinage and gem representations. Though there are variations in the representations of Harpokrates of Pelusium, three attributes of importance appear on the coinage: the pomegranate in the god's right hand; a staff in his left hand; and a hem-hem crown.⁹² These attributes all appear together on the coins of Trajan.⁹³ The pomegranate presumably refers to the god's function in fertility.⁹⁴ Most important for us is the hem-hem crown which is associated with Horus in his various manifestations. It is a symbol of cosmic power and world rule. The crown itself is a composite, essentially a triple-atef crown. It is composed of joined plant stems, feathers (usually from the ostrich), horns of goats or cows, sun disks, and uraei.⁹⁵ Thus, the identification proposed between Zeus Kasios and the statue at Carnuntum seems impossible. Features that appear to link the two lose their identity on closer inspection. The globe dissolves into a pomegranate and the lightning symbol into a hem-hem crown. The age difference between the two deities also tells against identification.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Strabo XVI 2.5. This was linked with the supposed ancestry of Seleucos Nikator, the founder of Antioch.

⁸⁹ See HERLE, in W.H. ROSCHER, *op. cit.* (n.68) V, col. 1132.

⁹⁰ It may be significant in this context that Hadrian displayed a preference for Apollo as well as for Jupiter. See J. BEAUJEU, *op. cit.*, (n.34), p. 196.

⁹¹ III 6.

⁹² On the various attributes of Harpokrates on Alexandrine coinage, see J.G. MILNE, *Catalogue of Alexandrine Coins*, Oxford 1933, p. xx.

⁹³ A. GEISSEN, *Katalog alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln I. Augustus-Trajan (Papyrologica Coloniensis, 5.1)*, Opladen 1974, nos. 611 and 612.

⁹⁴ J. ENSEMAN, *Granatapfel*, *RAC* XII (1983), cols. 692 and 694.

⁹⁵ I would like to thank Mr. John A. Larson, Museum Archivist at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for his help with this often mentioned, but seldom described, object.

⁹⁶ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 33 recognizes the age difference between the Carnuntum figure and Zeus Kasios of Pelusium, but ascribes the differences as being due to the influence of Jupiter Dolichenus. This is a device equally invoked to explain the difference in attributes. But there then remains literally nothing to associate the two and which is supported by no other evidence.

There are traces of the extensive diffusion of Egyptian deities in the Danubian area, including Carnuntum.⁹⁷ There may even be traces of a cult group of Zeus Kasios in the Dobrudja, though the evidence is tenuous.⁹⁸ But in the middle Danube, no trace of this deity has been found. Hadrian appears to have made no attempt to propagate this form of Zeus/Jupiter, whatever the significance of the miracle was for him personally.

It is inherently unlikely that Marcus made any specific reference to Hadrian in his celebration of the miracle. The context was totally different and another emperor offered an obvious parallel and the obvious advantage of an unassailable reputation as a conqueror. The coinage of 172-173 that can be associated with the Lightning Miracle is problematic. It seems likely the *Providentia Deorum* series of bronze of 172 refers to the aid of the gods on this occasion.⁹⁹ More clearly associated with the miracle is an aureus of 172 on which the emperor is portrayed in military costume holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a reversed spear in his left. He is being crowned by Victory who holds a palm.¹⁰⁰ This is a startlingly unusual issue for Marcus and has long been recognized as an allusion to the Lightning Miracle. The type recalls coins already issued for Trajan.¹⁰¹ The natural inference from the coin type is the transference of Jupiter's powers to the emperor who now (as the king of gods) wields the thunderbolt. This type also recalls the Arch of Beneventum where, on the southwest attic, Jupiter offers his thunderbolt to the triumphing Trajan.¹⁰²

The most striking correspondence is the most obvious of all. No one questions that the column of Marcus is inspired by the column of

⁹⁷ M. MALAISE, *La diffusion des cultes égyptiens dans les provinces européennes de l'empire romain*, in *ANRW* II 17.3, Berlin – New York 1984, p. 1615-1691. The finds of Egyptian material seem to be confined to the camp area (1668).

⁹⁸ R. VULPE, *Le sanctuaire de Zeus Kasios à Sermet et le problème d'un vicus Cassianus*, in *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VIIe Congrès d'Epigraphie grecque et latine* (edd. D.M. PIPPIDI and E.M. POPEUA), Budapest 1977, p. 113-130. Though the identification is far from certain.

⁹⁹ *BMC* IV, nos. 1424-1426. This explanation is that of W. ZWIKKER, *op. cit.* (n.1), p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ *BMC* IV, nos. 566-567. See J. DOBIÁŠ, *loc. cit.* (n.1), p. 137, followed by W. ZWIKKER, *op. cit.* (n.1), p. 217.

¹⁰¹ *BMC* III, nos. 825, 899, 941. It recalls a type first struck for Domitian against German enemies. See *BMC* II, nos. 345, 362, 381, 396.

¹⁰² M. ROTILI, *L'arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Rome 1972, Plates CXXIX, CXXXV, and CXL. This comparison was suggested by C. DODD, *The Chronology*, p. 27.

Trajan, whatever the stylistic differences between them.¹⁰³ But there is more than the general concept of celebrating the successful outcome of warfare in a similar way or the imitation of certain scene patterns, such as the departure scenes or the crossing of the Danube. Two elements are juxtaposed in a striking way. A Victory writing on a scroll symbolizes the end of the First Dacian War on Trajan's monument.¹⁰⁴ The same representation reappears on Marcus' column in the same location. But here it marks no real break. Its placement owes more to the earlier monument than to its historical significance for Marcus' wars.¹⁰⁵ Even more striking and at the same point as the Rain Miracle on Marcus' column, a great battle scene appears on the Trajan column. In the scene, Jupiter Tonans comes to the aid of the Roman forces at Tapae with his lightning. It is a possible reference to a miraculous thunderstorm which intervened at a critical moment.¹⁰⁶ The placement of these scenes and the relations that they indicate between Marcus and Trajan (as well as the coin types) suggest what one would, a priori, expect. The model for Marcus was not Hadrian, but the Optimus Princeps victorious, on the Danube.¹⁰⁷ The aureus of 172 presumably reflects Marcus' own conception about the use of Trajanic forms to advertise his victory. How far the column immediately reflects his own thought is less clear. The only ancient evidence (which is of little worth) dates its commencement after his death.¹⁰⁸ But whether its inspiration was Marcus' or not, it shows that Trajan would have been the natural model.¹⁰⁹

Thus, there is no basis for seeing any connection between Marcus and

¹⁰³ On these, see M. WEGNER, *Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Marcussäule*, JDAI 46 (1931), p. 61-174.

¹⁰⁴ K. LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, Taf. LXVIII and E. PETERSEN, et.al., *op. cit.* (n.12), Taf. 55.

¹⁰⁵ For those like C. CAPRINO, *La colonna di Marco Aurelio*, Rome 1955, who argue that it does mark a real separation, it is not the sequence of the scenes, but the victory itself that persuades them.

¹⁰⁶ R. VULPE, *Fulgenul lui Jupiter de la Tapae*, *Apulum* 9 (1971), p. 571-588 bases his interpretation purely on the column. There is no literary evidence for it.

¹⁰⁷ If the Lightning Miracle and the Rain Miracle owe their placement on the column to the position of analogous scenes on the column of Trajan, then there is no possibility of establishing the chronological order of the scenes on the column of Marcus since these are only scenes that have any possibility of being dated.

¹⁰⁸ Aurelius Victor 16.15; *Epit. de Caesaribus* 16.14. The only definite date is supplied by CIL VI 1585 which shows that the column was in existence by the reign of Septimius Severus.

¹⁰⁹ On the fame of Trajan in Late Antiquity, see R. SYME, *The Fame of Trajan*, in *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971, p. 89-112.

Hadrian in this case; and, therefore, no reason to see the statue as a form of the Syrian god. The problem of the meaning of the epithet abbreviated by K remains. Clearly the most reasonable solution is the obvious one. K must be an abbreviation for Karnuntinus. K is often used as an abbreviation for the town or for adjectival forms derived from it.¹¹⁰ In one instance it is used in conjunction with a deity.¹¹¹ This identification makes the representation of the deity all the more significant. The practice of using an epithet derived from a place name, though common for Eastern gods (such as Jupiter Tavianus or Dolichenus), is almost unattested in the Danubian provinces, except for Jupiter Olbiopolitanus. The close identification with the emperor (through the use of the globe) shows that Marcus was concerned to use the incident as means of supporting and strengthening the morale of his army after the defeats of his first two years of war. It can be no accident that the coinage of 170-171 is marked by the repetition of the legend «Fides Exercitum».¹¹² The unusual attributes of the god as well as his name would be strong evocation of divine support for the emperor and his army now that they had entered the offensive phase of the war.¹¹³

If the statue and the dedications to JOMK referred to both the Lightning Miracle and the Rain Miracle, they can provide a final solution to the chronological problems that both of these events present. The Lightning Miracle has been commonly dated to 172 on the basis of the coinage and the position of its depiction on the column. The Rain Miracle has been dated either to the summer of that year or to that of 173. The evidence before the discoveries at Carnuntum allow no greater precision. If the cult was begun in Carnuntum as a commemoration of both miracles, a firm terminus ante quem would be provided.¹¹⁴ The crucial question is: Did Marcus ascribe the miracle to Jupiter as well as to other gods, in particular Hermes Aeries? The evidence for an inscription to Jupiter is not strong. The earliest mention of this version

¹¹⁰ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 31 makes the suggestion himself only to reject it. See his note 89 which lists inscriptional uses of the abbreviation.

¹¹¹ See for example *CIL* III 12464.

¹¹² *BMC* IV, nos. 1395-1397, 1406.

¹¹³ W. JOBST, *loc. cit.* (n.25), p. 718 n. 36. He restored *CIL* III 3347 from Alba Regia, a dedication on behalf of Marcus, Commodus and the *ordo Aquincensis* dated June 11, 172, as dedicated to JOMK. *Op. cit.* (n.24), p. 28, he developed the notion of a province-wide cult. But in n. 107, he cites an inscription from the vicinity of Leon which is dated to June 11, 163. Thus, without further evidence, it is more reasonable to assume that the inscription from Alba Regia's agreement in date is due to chance.

¹¹⁴ So W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 12ff.

occurs in Tertullian's *Ad Scapulam* of 212. In the *Apologeticum*, Tertullian dealt with the same incident; but there, only the prayers of Christian soldiers were cited as the cause.¹¹⁵ In *Ad Scapulam*, Tertullian repeats that it was the efficacy of Christian prayers that saved the situation, and adds that, «Tunc et populus acclamans Deo Deorum, in Iovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit.»¹¹⁶ But, as has been pointed out by others, Christian Apologists have a tendency to use pagan symbols and deities in ways which will further their arguments.¹¹⁷ It does not inspire confidence that the remark follows a claim that Commodus was educated as a Christian by his nurse.¹¹⁸

Given this typical turn of apologetic argument, it becomes clear that once Tertullian had made the claim that Marcus recognized that the event was due to the prayers of Christians (and therefore to the Christian God), he would be drawn to make the equation with Jupiter (which is the centerpiece of the passage).¹¹⁹ Thus, Tertullian's statement carries no independent worth.

The other piece of literary evidence which cites Jupiter (in this case, specifically Jupiter Tonans) is the *Panegyricus De Sexto Consulatu Honori* of Claudian.¹²⁰ Though Claudian is aware of other versions of the cause of the miracle, he ascribes it to the character of Marcus who merited «omne Tonantis/obsequium...».¹²¹ Claudian's account focuses on the destructive effects of the lightning rather than the saving effects of the rain. It is this bias in his account, as well as his distance in time, which leads him to cite Jupiter as the agent of the miracle. Another stand in the tradition led him in the same direction — the stress on the miracle an indication of Marcus' character. The miracle has become an exemplum of the rewards a good emperor can obtain.¹²² In fact, it is

¹¹⁵ 5.6.

¹¹⁶ 4.6.

¹¹⁷ See the illuminating remarks on this topic by J. GEFFCKEN, *Das Regenwunder im Quadenlande*, *NJA* 2 (1896), p. 261.

¹¹⁸ 4.5.

¹¹⁹ As was pointed out eons ago by J.B. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers* I 2, London 1889², p. 489 the Latin of Tertullian does not imply that he had actually seen the letter of Marcus. He clearly depends on second-hand information, perhaps Apollonarius.

¹²⁰ 340-350.

¹²¹ The reference here to the «Carmina Chaldaea» must be linked to a version of the Rain Miracle which appears in the *Suda*. The *Suda* ascribes the miracle to Julianus the son of Julianus who is probably the author of the Chaldaean Oracles in their original form. See J. KROLL, art. *Julianos*, in *RE* X 1 (1917), col. 15-17.

¹²² The same viewpoint is evident in Themistius, *Orat.* 15.191b and 35.21, though in his

clear that both on the Christian and pagan sides, the miracle obtained its importance because of its connection with Marcus and with Marcus' particular reputation. This stand clearly impelled Claudian (and probably earlier sources) to make the equation with Jupiter once the emperor's presence was assumed. Orac. Sib. xii 199 appears to make an indefinite reference to Zeus. It claims that the Romans were saved on account of the Eusebeia of their emperor whom «ὁ θεὸς οὐράνιος» obeyed. Again, the same pattern is repeated. The merits of the emperor induce their reward from the king of gods. The pagan versions of the event thus appear to introduce Jupiter as a reflection of the involvement of the emperor. Whatever their source, there is no reason to assume that they reflect the contemporary view of the matter.

The column offers no aid here. The rain is represented in the form of an allegorical figure who bears a strong resemblance to Notus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹²³ This may in part be due to stylistic convention. In both miracles, there is a reluctance to portray anthropomorphic divinities in contrast to the column of Trajan.¹²⁴ The representation certainly bears no relationship to any known representation of Jupiter or to that of the other Olympians.

A final piece of evidence is a medallion of 173 which represents Jupiter in a quadriga facing right and hurling a thunderbolt at a prostrate foe. This recalls a medallion of Pius issued in 157.¹²⁵ The reference of the medallion of Marcus is not clear. It can be taken either as referring to the Lightning Miracle or to the Rain Miracle. Both points of view have been taken.¹²⁶ Its date seems rather late to refer to the Lightning Miracle and chronologically it would best suit the Rain Miracle. But the medallion need not have any such specific reference. None has been found for its antecedent model under Pius. It may well have a wider significance, symbolizing the generalized notion of Roman victory over the barbarian forces of chaos. In the Pius medallion, it

version the emperor is Pius. But he seems to have reversed the order of their reigns. See 17.215a, 19.229b.

¹²³ 1.264ff. First suggested by E. PETERSEN, *Das Wunder an der Columna M. Aurelii*, RM (1894), p. 87.

¹²⁴ P.G. HAMBERG, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, Copenhagen 1945, p. 145.

¹²⁵ F. GNECCHI, *I Medaglioni romani* II, Milan 1912, p. 28 no. 11. It clearly recalls a medallion of Pius struck in 157, see *ibidem*, p. 14 no. 49.

¹²⁶ H.Z. RUBIN, *Weather Miracles under Marcus Aurelius*, *Athenaeum* N.S. 57 (1979), p. 377 argues that the absence of rain on the medallion indicates that it represents the earlier miracle. J. GUEY, *Encore 'La Pluie Miraculeuse'*, *RPh* 3e ser. 22 (1948), p. 357 ascribes it to the Rain Miracle through the passage in the *Ad Scapulam* cited above.

appears that the figure struck is a giant symbolizing chaos. The referent for the medallion of Marcus may well be the same. It also recalls the general type of Jupiter Propugnator which occurs as a variant on a sestertius of Marcus' second issue as IMP VIII in 176-177 with the legend «PROPUGNATORI IMP VIII COS III PP SC». ¹²⁷ The type was to become frequent from the Severi on. ¹²⁸ Here, clearly there is no reference to a specific miracle, but a general reference to the granting of Imp VIII. The medallion can in no way serve as an argument for the particular identification of the god responsible for the miracle as Jupiter.

The reference to Hermes Aerios on the coinage and in Dio's account as the deity who (along with others) was responsible for the Rain Miracle tells against any immediate identification with Jupiter as author of the Rain Miracle. ¹²⁹ Marcus is commonly characterized as a traditionalist in religious matters. ¹³⁰ But it appears that under pressure of acute stress, he was willing to enlarge his religious horizons. So, in 167, Marcus (perhaps under pressure from public opinion) summoned foreign priests to Rome and had them perform their ceremonies in an attempt to cleanse the empire of the plague that Verus' soldiers had brought back from the East. ¹³¹ It was perhaps in this context that Arnuphis (the priest who brought about the Rain Miracle) arrived in Rome. ¹³² Marcus was sensitive and scrupulous about religious matters, sharing the common attitude toward the efficacy of the supernatural. ¹³³ It was this same combination of traditionalism as well as a certain readiness to cross boundaries that marks the account of Dio LXXI 8 and the coinage with Mercury. This is a clear indication that this was the initial and

¹²⁷ BMC IV, no. 1637.

¹²⁸ M. BERNHART, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1926, p. 188-189.

¹²⁹ Hermes Aerios is identified by J. GUEY, *La date de la 'Pluie Miraculeuse'*, *MEFR* 60 (1948), p. 48ff. with the Egyptian god Toth-Shou. It is significant that the identification of Toth with Shou took place through a link with an intermediary god, Chons, whose warlike functions make him particularly appropriate in the context of the miracle. See A. RUSCH, in *RE VI A 1* (1936), col. 381. The epithet «aerios» is almost unknown for a classical deity, but does occur on an Early First Century dedication to Jupiter, *CIL X 5779* = *AE* 1969-1970, no. 111 (Casamare).

¹³⁰ So, for example, P.A. BRUNT, *Marcus Aurelius and the Christians*, in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History I*, Brussels 1979, p. 497.

¹³¹ *HA*, Marcus 13.1.

¹³² On Arnuphis, see J. GUEY, *loc. cit.* (n.126), p. 16ff.

¹³³ On his preoccupation with the fulfillment of religious rites even on «dies nefasti», see Dio LXXI 34.1 (*Exc. Val.* 310); Ammianus Marcellinus XXV 4.17. On his belief in supernatural powers, see *Med.* 9.27; 12.28.

official explanation of the miracle.¹³⁴ The unusual nature of Hermes Aerios and his Egyptian provenance make it unlikely that any other than this official version of the legend appeared initially.¹³⁵

Chronological indications as well tell against the identification of the deity of Carnuntum as the author of the Rain Miracle. Dio (our best source for the miracle) clearly states that the enemy the Romans faced were the Quadi.¹³⁶ This campaign, as has been argued above, belongs to 173. The only way out of this conclusion is to follow the suggestion of A. Birley.¹³⁷ He adopts the original reading of the forged letter of Marcus at the end of Justin's first apology which is *Kotinoi*.¹³⁸ Birley argues that the letter preserves an authentic tradition that the miracle took place among the Cotini and not the Quadi.¹³⁹ Though the letter contains what appears to be genuine information (mixed with a great deal of exaggeration and Christian apologia), its most likely source for historical material is Dio, as Mommsen argued long ago.¹⁴⁰ That the event may have been localized by Dio in the territory of the Cotini is a possibility as Xiphilinus tends to be haphazardly selective in his epitomization of Dio.¹⁴¹ However, in Dio the battle is clearly against the Quadi and not the Cotini. Thus, it is probable that the event belongs to 173 and not 172.¹⁴²

On the grounds of the available evidence, the dedication at Carnuntum which continued over several centuries had its origin in the Lightning Miracle. Its discovery most importantly provides us with a terminus ante quem for the Lightning Miracle, though the dates of the original dedication must surely be the dedication of the statue and not that of the miracle. It makes clear that Marcus, under the pressure first

¹³⁴ The coinage legend «Religio Augusti» gives it added point.

¹³⁵ W. JOBST, *op. cit.* (n.24), p. 15-16 is far too ready to allow the mixing of official and Egyptian religion in this case.

¹³⁶ Dio LXXI 8 and 10. The attempt by A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Das Regenwunder der Marc-Aurelsäule*, *RhM* N.F. 49 (1894), p. 614 to show that LXXI 10 was a Christian interpolation was successfully refuted by Th. MOMMSEN, *Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule*, *Hermes* 30 (1895), p. 100ff.

¹³⁷ See n. 3 above.

¹³⁸ C.R. HAINES, *op. cit.* (n.14) II, p. 302.

¹³⁹ *Op. cit.* (n.3), p. 326.

¹⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.* (n.136), p. 91 n. 1.

¹⁴¹ See F. MILLAR, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford 1964, p. 2f.

¹⁴² The argument of H.Z. RUBIN, *loc. cit.* (n.126), p. 359 on the ground that the building must have been built before it appeared on the coins is unconvincing. Earlier coinage had portrayed buildings before their erection. See D.F. BROWN, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* (*Amer. Num. Soc., Num. Notes and Monographs*, 90), New York 1940, p. 11.

of the plague, then of a series of unsuccessful campaigns, could make use of the miracle to further the close identification of the emperor with the king of the gods (accelerated under Hadrian) and at the same time, restore and strengthen the morale of his forces in what was a prolonged and disjointed conflict.

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GESELLSCHAFT UND LITERATUR IN DER SPÄTANTIKE

Bei der Einteilung der römischen Kaiserzeit in Perioden unterscheidet man gewöhnlich den Prinzipat, der ungefähr die ersten zwei Jahrhunderte nach Chr. einnahm, vom Dominat oder der Spätantike, die ungefähr von 300 bis 600 nach Chr. dauerte. Das dritte Jahrhundert bezeichnet man dann als Periode des Übergangs, insbesondere die Jahre von 235 bis 284, die Zeit der sogenannten Soldatenkaiser.

Der Prinzipat wird als Regierungsform oft bezeichnet als beschränkte Monarchie, wobei die Beschränkung darin besteht, dass der Monarch ein gewisses Mitbestimmungsrecht gewährt an Personen und Gruppen seiner Umgebung, vor allem an den Senat. Der Dominat wird als Regierungsform oft verbunden mit den Begriffen Absolutismus und Zwangstaat und als historische Periode angesehen für eine Zeit des Rückgangs und Verfalls.

Mehrere führende Historiker haben in der letzten Zeit Einwände erhoben gegen diese ihrer Meinung nach «klassizistische» Darstellung der Dinge, die davon ausgeht, dass das klassische Altertum Mass und Höhepunkt der Geschichte ist. Sie weisen darauf hin, dass in der Kultur der Spätantike an vielen Stellen neue schöpferische Kräfte hervorbrechen. Sie halten es darum für besser, dass man für den Übergang vom Prinzipat zum Dominat eine neutrale Bezeichnung, etwa Metamorphose oder Mutation, gebraucht oder diesen Übergang sogar als Fortschritt bewertet¹. Bei dieser Betrachtungsweise wird verhältnismässig wenig Nachdruck gelegt auf den totalitären Charakter des Regimes im späten Altertum.

1. AUF DER SUCHE NACH EINEM MODELL

Angesichts dieser entgegengesetzten Werturteile, stellen wir uns als erstes die Frage: könnte man nicht ein dynamisches Modell entwerfen, das es

¹ S. z.B. J. VOGT, *Der Niedergang Roms. Metamorphose der antiken Kultur*, Zürich 1965; H.-J. MARROU, *Décadence romaine ou antiquité tardive? IIIe-VIe siècle*, Paris 1977; P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London 1971.

möglich macht, diesen Übergang mit unbefangenen-sachlichen Ausdrücken zu beschreiben? Wir wollen es versuchen.

Der Gegenüberstellung Prinzipat-Dominat entspricht auf der Ebene des Umgangs zwischen einzelnen Menschen der Gegensatz *princeps-dominus*. Untersuchen wir erst das Wort *dominus*, «Herr des Hauses», und das Wort *domus*, «Haus», mit dem es zusammenhängt.

Für den Umgang von Menschen miteinander gibt es grundsätzlich nur zwei Möglichkeiten: horizontal, das heisst als Gleicher mit Gleichem, und vertikal, das heisst auf dem Fuss der Ungleichheit. Jede Gesamtheit von Menschen, die miteinander Umgang haben, nennen wir eine Gesellschaft. Den zwei Möglichkeiten menschlichen Umgangs entsprechen zwei Modelle der Organisation der Gesellschaft. Das eine Modell können wir mit einer Pyramide vergleichen. Der Mann an der Spitze der Pyramide (er ist da allein, denn es ist nur Platz für einen) kann auf Grund seiner Stellung nur auf vertikale Weise umgehen mit allen andern Mitgliedern seiner Gesellschaft. Die anderen befinden sich im Innern und auf den Seitenflächen der Pyramide und stehen mehr oder weniger im Verhältnis der Ungleichheit zu dem Mann an der Spitze. Sie sind alle von ihm abhängig, sie können nicht selbständig politische Beschlüsse fassen. Der Mann an der Spitze trifft alle Entscheidungen für die ganze Gemeinschaft. Mit anderen Worten: In diesem Modell gibt es keine *libertas*, Freiheit des Handelns in der aktiven Bedeutung, die das Wort im klassischen Latein der römischen Republik hat.

Die lateinische Sprache besitzt drei Wörter, die solch ein pyramidenförmiges Gesellschaftsmodell bezeichnen: *domus*, *familia*, *res privata*. Sowie der *dominus* kraft seines *dominium* Macht hat über sein *domus*, so hat der *pater familias* kraft seiner *patria potestas* Macht über seine *familia*, das heisst über die Gemeinschaft aller ihm untergeordneten *famuli* und *famulae*. Die Wörter können ausgetauscht werden. Der Jurist Ulpianus (3. Jhd.) formuliert es so: *Pater familias* ist derjenige, der in seiner *domus* das *dominium* besitzt². Zwischen der privaten Macht des *dominium* und der Staatsmacht des Fürsten, dem *imperium*, besteht ein grundsätzlicher Gegensatz.

Das zweite Modell einer Gesellschaftsorganisation könnte man mit einer vollständig abgebrochenen Pyramide vergleichen. Es gibt keinen Mann an der Spitze, denn es gibt keine Spitze. Alle Mitglieder der Gesellschaft dieses Modells stehen auf demselben Niveau, nämlich der

² *Digesta* L 16.195.2, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* I.

Grundfläche. Es herrscht absolute Gleichheit und demzufolge absolute Freiheit. Beschlüsse werden gefasst mit völliger Mitbestimmung aller Beteiligten. Dieses Modell ist nur eine theoretische Konstruktion.

In der historischen Wirklichkeit treffen wir eigentlich immer Gesellschaftsformen an, bei denen der Umgang der Menschen je nach ihrem Verhältnis zueinander in der einen Situation horizontal und in der anderen Situation vertikal stattfindet. Diese Gesellschaftsformen kann man auf einen Nenner bringen mit Hilfe des Modells der oben abgeschnittenen Pyramide. An Stelle eines Einzigen an der Spitze befindet sich nun eine Gruppe auf der oberen Fläche, die auf irgend eine Weise miteinander beratschlagt und dann gemeinsam Beschlüsse fasst. Die Gruppe ist kleiner oder grösser, je nachdem die Pyramide weniger abgestumpft ist oder mehr. Im ersten Falle haben nur wenige das Vorrecht der Gleichheit und Freiheit. Das nennt man Oligarchie oder Aristokratie. Im zweiten Fall gibt es Freiheit und Gleichheit für viele. Das nennt man Demokratie.

Man kann die Geschichte des Altertums mit Hilfe dieser drei Modelle beschreiben als eine Folge von historischen Entwicklungen, wodurch das Bauwerk einer (meistens schon irgendwie abgestumpften) Pyramide höher oder niedriger wird. So kann zum Beispiel der Übergang vom Patriziat, dem Geburtsadel, als herrschendem Stand der frühen römischen Republik zur patrizisch-plebejischen Senatsaristokratie als neuem herrschenden Stand beschrieben werden als weiter fortschreitende Erniedrigung einer bis dahin nur wenig abgestumpften Pyramide.

Die Kultur, also auch die Literatur einer bestimmten Gesellschaft ist in hohem Masse eine Abspiegelung von dem Modell, dem diese Gesellschaft entspricht. Kultur hängt nämlich aufs engste mit Kommunikation zusammen, das heisst mit der Weise worauf Menschen miteinander umgehen. Man könnte Kultur umschreiben als die Gesamtheit von Erzeugnissen und Erscheinungen, die das Ergebnis und die Manifestation einer sich fortwährend vollziehenden Kommunikation sind. Es gibt beinahe kein menschliches Handeln, das nicht auf irgend eine Weise, mit oder ohne Absicht, etwas mit Kommunikation zu tun hätte, mit andern Worten das nicht zum Ziel hätte Einfluss auf andere auszuüben. Bei diesem Tun bedienen die Menschen sich einer Vielfalt von Kommunikationsmitteln, von denen die Sprache nur eines ist. Die an der Spitze der Pyramide (ob sie nun abgestumpft ist oder nicht) stattfindende Kommunikation ist dabei der massgebende Faktor für das kulturelle Klima einer bestimmten Gesellschaft. In einer Gesellschaft, die dem Modell einer

radikal abgestumpften Pyramide entspricht, findet sehr viel mehr horizontale Kommunikation statt als in einer Gesellschaft nach dem Modell einer nur wenig oder gar nicht abgestumpften Pyramide. Das hat Folgen für die Literatur. Ein Beispiel: Im demokratischen Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. konnte ein Komödiendichter es sich erlauben, die politischen Führer in seiner Gegenwart *en plein public* zu verspotten. Im oligarchischen Rom des 1. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. war das ausgeschlossen³. Es gab Möglichkeiten für die Satire in Rom. Aber das Publikum, an das die Satirendichter sich wandten, bildete einen kleinen geschlossenen Kreis.

Historische Entwicklungen, die zu einer weiteren Abstumpfung der Pyramide geführt haben, zeigen bei näherem Hinsehen immer eine stärkere oder schwächere Tendenz zur Säkularisierung. Das ist kein Wunder. Denn unter Säkularisierung verstehen wir eine Entwicklung, wodurch Menschen mündiger werden, selbst Verantwortung tragen wollen, sich der eigenen Natur der Dinge bewusst werden und die Welt dadurch anders erleben. Wenn man unsre moderne Zeit ins Auge fasst, versteht man unter Säkularisierung eine Entwicklung, wobei Menschen sich losringen aus der Überherrschaft von der christlichen Kultur, in der Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft eine einheitliche Lebensordnung hervorbrachten, in der Theologie, Philosophie, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in einem System vereinigt waren. Wenn diese Zusammenhänge entbunden werden, wird das beschrieben als Entwicklung zur Mündigkeit. So wie man Säkularisierung beschreiben kann als «Entzauberung der Welt», so kann man die umgekehrte Entwicklung — die Wiedererhöhung der abgestumpften Pyramide — als Sakralisierung, wachsende Bevormundung, und als Folgeerscheinung abnehmende Toleranz beschreiben. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass Säkularisierung, weil sie ein Vorgang der Differenzierung ist, Krisiserscheinungen mit sich bringt. Man hat guten Grund anzunehmen dass Sakralisierung als Vorgang der Uniformierung eben so gut Krisiserscheinungen hervorruft, wenn auch andere. In beiden Fällen können diese Erscheinungen zu Tage treten in verschiedenen Formen des Festhaltens an der Tradition, des Widerstandes und der Unterdrückung.

2. DER PRINZIPAT ALS ZWISCHENSTUFE ZWISCHEN REPUBLIK UND DOMINAT

Man ist auf den ersten Blick geneigt, den Übergang vom Prinzipat zum

³ Cicero, *De re publica* III 11-12; Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* II 9.

Dominat als einen Vorgang von Sakralisierung und Rückkehr zum Modell der vollendeten Pyramide zu beschreiben. Prinzipat kommt ja von *princeps*, und der Begriff *princeps* wird in Verbindung gebracht mit *primus inter pares*, «der erste unter gleichen». Die hier gemeinten Gleichen befinden sich auf der oberen Fläche einer abgestumpften Pyramide. Aber dieser Gedanke ist trügerisch. Er gründet sich auf die Behauptung des Augustus, dass die *res publica constituta*, die Wiederherstellung der Republik, sein Ziel gewesen sei, während seine Regierung in Wirklichkeit zur Errichtung der Monarchie geführt hat. Für ein besseres Verständnis dieses Überganges ist es nötig, den Begriff *res publica* genauer zu betrachten.

Die römische *res publica* kann ideell umschrieben werden als eine Zusammenfügung von *res privatae*. Sie entspricht daher dem Modell einer abgestumpften Pyramide, die bei genauer Betrachtung besteht aus vielen im Innern dieser abgestumpften Pyramide eingebauten, nicht abgestumpften, kleinen Pyramiden, die jede für sich geleitet werden von einem *dominus* oder *patronus* (der Leiter einer *clientela*) oder *pater familias*. (Für unser Modell spielt der Unterschied hier keine Rolle.) Die Spitzen der kleinen Pyramiden und somit die Stellung ihrer Führer fallen zusammen mit dem Niveau der Oberfläche der abgestumpften Pyramide, mit anderen Worten mit dem Niveau der *res publica*, wo die Entscheidungen getroffen werden, die das Wohl der einzelnen *res privatae* befördern müssen. Dabei tritt eine strukturelle Spannung zwischen *res publica* und *res privata* auf. Die Interessen des einen Bereiches können jeden Augenblick in Konflikt geraten mit denen des anderen Bereiches.

Diese Struktur erfuhr eine Veränderung in einer historischen Entwicklung, die hauptsächlich durch das Heer bewirkt und angetrieben wurde. Die Zahl der für das Heer rekrutierten Proletarier nahm stark zu. Das hatte zur Folge, dass die Proletarier Macht ausüben konnten mittels ihres *patronus/imperator*. Umgekehrt erhielt auch der *patronus/imperator* mehr politische Macht durch seine Klientele im Heer. Wenn man das projiziert auf das Modell der abgestumpften Pyramide der *res publica*, dann sieht man wie Erhöhungen an mehreren Stellen auf der Oberfläche entstehen. Man kann die Bürgerkriege im letzten Jahrhundert der Republik beschreiben als Kombination des Machtstreites zwischen den Führern dieser Erhöhungen untereinander mit den Anstrengungen der alten Kollektivleitung (soviel davon noch übrig war) auf der Fläche, um den alten Zustand der «equality of peers» wiederherzustellen.

Augustus, das Musterbeispiel des Imperators, schuf ein neues Gleich-

gewicht, indem er einerseits dem Heer gegenüber die logische Entwicklung zu einer im Militär verankerten Monarchie zu Ende führte und andererseits mit dem Senat einen Kompromiss erreichte. Im Verhältnis zum Senat trat er nicht als *Imperator* auf sondern als *princeps*. Theoretisch bestand kein Gegensatz zwischen Kaiser und Senat, in der Praxis lag alle Macht in den Händen des Kaisers. Mit andern Worten: Das Modell der Gesellschaft des Prinzipats stimmt mit dem Modell einer nicht abgestumpften Pyramide überein, wenn man von den wirklichen Machtverhältnissen ausgeht.⁴

In der Kaiserzeit sollten bis ins späte Altertum noch jährlich neue Magistrate ihr Amt antreten. Aber das Wort Magistrat hatte schon seit Augustus eine ganz andere Bedeutung erhalten: Die Magistrate der Republik waren im Prinzip Vollzieher des Volkswillens gewesen. (Dass der Volkswille meistens beeinflusst war, ist staatskundlich nicht von Belang.) Die Magistrate der Kaiserzeit waren das nicht mehr. Sie waren tatsächlich Minister. (Die Tatsache, dass das Wort Minister vorläufig nicht gebraucht wurde, ist hier auch nicht von Belang.) Als Minister waren sie an den Willen des Kaisers gebunden, «in the Emperor's service».

Während früher die Magistrate die *maiestas populi Romani* verkörperten aus dem Grunde, weil sie vom Volke gewählt worden waren, wurde in der Kaiserzeit der Kaiser als eine Art oberster *patronus* die exklusive Verkörperung dieser *maiestas*. Eine Majestät und ganz besonders eine Majestät, die den Anspruch erhebt göttliche Majestät zu sein, kann nur Minister haben. Es mag wohl sein, dass die Männer, die die im Prinzip schon vom Kaiser gefassten Beschlüsse ausführen, bei ihrer täglichen Arbeit oft auch selbst Beschlüsse nehmen müssen, aber es kommt darauf an, dass solch ein Beamter, ob er nun Legat oder Praefekt oder Prokurator ist, im Prinzip immer *vice fungens*, «als Stellvertreter», handelt und niemals kraft eigener souveräner Berechtigung, und dass er jederzeit von demjenigen, dessen Stelle er vertritt, zur Ordnung gerufen werden kann (das heisst zur Ordnung der nicht abgestumpften Pyramide). Er ist Beamter, Minister, Diener. Politische Tätigkeit — teilhaben am Politischen heisst im klassischen Latein *libertas* — ist für ihn nur noch möglich in der Form von dienen, *servire*. Die höchste Weisheit liegt für ihn in der Ehrfurcht, ja der Furcht seines Herrn: *Ecce timor Domini ipsa est sapientia* (*Hiob* 28. 28). Wenn in der

⁴ A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (ABAW, 15), München 1937.

Spätantike die Pyramide unverkürzt sichtbar geworden und der *dominus* zum *Deus* erhoben ist, dann bleibt die Weisheit unverändert dieselbe: *Verecundia Dei principium sapientiae* (*Sprüche Salomos* 9. 10).

Die beiden Zitate aus dem Alten Testament bieten uns eine zutreffende Beschreibung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse und damit von der Weise, worauf ein Untergebener seinem Vorgesetzten begegnet, nicht nur in der Zeit, in der diese Texte entstanden, sondern auch in der römischen Kaiserzeit, der frühen ebenso gut wie der späten. Einer der Gründe, warum die Bibel in der römischen Kaiserzeit früher oder später ganz von selbst ein empfängliches Leserpublikum finden musste, hängt damit zusammen, dass man regelmässig Parallelen feststellen konnte zwischen dem, was in der Bibel zu lesen ist, und dem Zustand, so wie er in der römischen Kaiserzeit wirklich war. Die Bibel wäre unbegreiflich gewesen für das Theaterpublikum, das zur Zeit der athenischen Demokratie einer Aufführung des *Prometheus* von Aischylos oder der *Antigone* von Sophokles beiwohnte. Aber dieselbe Bibel war sehr begreiflich für die Armen und Abhängigen des römischen Reiches. Der in der römischen Kaiserzeit oft ausgesprochene Gedanke dass die wahre Freiheit darin besteht, Gott zu dienen, wäre auch für jemand als Cicero völlig unbegreiflich gewesen, denn von seiner Position auf der Oberfläche einer abgestumpften Pyramide aus gesehen, ist die Voraussetzung für dienen prinzipiell ein vertikales Verhältnis und für *libertas* ein horizontales Verhältnis.

Kurzum: Die entscheidende Veränderung, die Mutation des Modells der abgestumpften Pyramide zu dem der nicht abgestumpften Pyramide, ist eingetreten beim Übergang von der Republik zur Kaiserzeit. Das impliziert, dass bei der Einteilung in Perioden vom Altertum bis zum Mittelalter und der byzantinischen Zeit nicht die späte Kaiserzeit die Übergangsperiode bildet, wie man es gewöhnlich darstellt, sondern vielmehr die frühe Kaiserzeit. Der Übergang besteht darin, dass es gute 250 Jahre gedauert hat, bis die Veränderung in allen ihren Folgen sichtbar wurde und allen zum Bewusstsein kam. Beim Übergang vom Prinzipat zum Dominat handelt es sich nicht so sehr um den Wiederaufbau einer abgestumpften Pyramide zu einer vollendeten, nicht abgestumpften Pyramide, als vielmehr um die Enthüllung, die Erkennung, die Billigung von und die Anpassung an eine viel früher, unter Augustus, ausgeführte Restauration. Die echte Pyramide akzeptieren zu müssen ist in sehr vielen Fällen gar keine negative Erfahrung gewesen und nicht als eine Art Freiheitsverlust empfunden, den man gezwungen

war hinzunehmen. Natürlich fehlte diese Haltung nicht ganz, auch nicht in der Literatur der Zeit, aber für die meisten hatte die Unterordnung die positive Seite einer neuen Hoffnung auf Schutz und Versorgung und damit einer neuen Sicherheit. Die Sicherheit und Versorgung konnten selbst als das Gegenteil von Knechtung und als Erlösung empfunden werden, und dann wirkten sie als Quelle neuen Lebens und neuer schöpferischer Kraft.

3. DIE ENTHÜLLUNG DER WIRKLICHKEIT

Bevor wir die Gesellschaft des späten Altertums näher betrachten, müssen wir noch kurz auf die Frage eingehen, wie es zu erklären ist, dass der wahre Charakter der römischen Gesellschaft in der Kaiserzeit, nämlich als nicht abgestumpfte Pyramide, so lange verborgen geblieben ist. Die wirklichen Machtverhältnisse konnten hinter der ideologischen Fassade des Prinzipats verhüllt bleiben, solange der Kaiser es nicht nötig hatte, seine Macht mit ihrem vollen Gewicht geltend zu machen. Mit andern Worten: *dominium* (oder *patrocinium*) und *imperium* (im Sinne von Staatsmacht) konnten ganz friedlich nebeneinander bestehen, weil das *imperium* nichts zu fordern und keine Ansprüche an das *dominium* zu stellen brauchte. Das Verhältnis zwischen der Obrigkeit, die Steuern erhebt, und ihren Untertanen, die Steuern zahlen müssen, ist ein konkretes Beispiel dafür. Solange die Obrigkeit für ihre Einkünfte nicht oder nur in geringem Masse darauf angewiesen ist, Ansprüche zu erheben an das Privatvermögen ihrer Untertanen, gibt es keine oder nur wenige Konflikte zwischen *imperium* und *dominium*. Obrigkeit und Untertanen lassen einander so viel wie möglich unbehelligt.

Eine Gesellschaft dieser Art, wo es so zugeht, wird in einer englischen Studie über ausser-europäische Soziologie beschrieben als «plural society»⁵. Es ist wichtig, im Auge zu behalten, dass das nicht dasselbe ist wie eine pluralistische demokratische Gesellschaft. Das Wesentliche der «plural society» lässt sich vielleicht am besten charakterisieren durch den Wahlspruch: «Jede Gruppe für sich und Gott für alle!». Denn die «plural society» wird gekennzeichnet durch eine auffallende «fragmentation of loyalties», die besonders deutlich darin zum Ausdruck kommt,

⁵ J.S. FURNIVALL, *Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*, Cambridge 1957, S. 304.

dass nur wenig Loyalität für die Gemeinschaft in ihrer Gesamtheit übrig bleibt.

Zu dem Typus der «plural society» gehört eine Staatsform, die mit dem Ausdruck «soft state» beschrieben wird⁶. Ein «soft state» ist ein Staat, in dem die Obrigkeit wenig von den Bürgern verlangt. Es gibt verhältnismässig wenig Gesetze, die die Bürger verpflichten, bestimmte Dinge zum Nutzen der Gemeinschaft zu tun oder nicht zu tun. Es wird auch verhältnismässig wenig Zwang ausgeübt, um die Erfüllung der Gesetze zu erreichen. Das hat für alle Beteiligten den Vorteil, dass der Konsens bewahrt wird: der Konflikt bleibt latent⁷. Der Nachteil ist, dass die soziale Disziplin schwach entwickelt bleibt. Das kann zum Beispiel zum Ausdruck kommen in einer hohen Masse von Korruption bei den Untertanen (denn Korruption ist im Grunde eine Erscheinungsform der «fragmentation of loyalties», die insbesondere auf geringes Interesse an der Obrigkeit und ihren Zielen hinweist), und Nachlässigkeit bei den Vertretern der Obrigkeit in der Bekämpfung der Korruption⁸.

Den Übergang vom Prinzipat zum Dominat kann man, wenn man von diesem soziologischen Modell Gebrauch macht, beschreiben als Übergang von Konsens nach Konflikt, von «soft state» nach «hard state». Dieser Übergang ist seinerseits in erster Linie in Bewegung gesetzt worden durch den etwa seit 160 nach Chr. fühlbaren grösseren Druck auf die Grenzen des Reiches. Davor waren die Kaiser immer in der angenehmen Lage gewesen, dass sie sich in ihrer auswärtigen Politik in Sachen von Krieg und Frieden den finanziellen Verhältnissen anpassen konnten. Weil die Mittel beschränkt waren, wie das dem «soft state» eigen ist, blieb es im grossen und ganzen bei Konsolidierung. Seit Markus Aurelius gehörte diese Situation endgültig der Vergangenheit an. Die Führung der Staatsgeschäfte erforderte einen viel grösseren Einsatz, militärisch, materiell und finanziell, und die Mittel dazu mussten aufgebracht werden. Dadurch wurde die Gesellschaft des späten Altertums eine Gesellschaft-unter-Druck.

4. MACHT UND MACHTLOSIGKEIT, UNTERDRÜCKUNG UND WIDERSTAND: *PATROCINIUM VERSUS IMPERIUM*

Wie sieht die echte, nicht abgestumpfte Pyramide des späten Altertums

⁶ G. MYRDAL, *Asian Drama. An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations II*, Harmondsworth 1968, S. 949ff.

⁷ G. MYRDAL, *op. cit.* (n.6), S. 895ff.

⁸ W.F. WERTHEIM, *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Den Haag 1956, S. 86.

aus der Nähe betrachtet aus? Inwieweit ist es dem Führer an der Spitze der Pyramide gelungen, die unter ihm im Innern befindlichen kleinen Pyramiden zu veranlassen, ihm Dienste zu leisten? Ist es ihm wirklich gelungen? Der Übergang vom «soft state» zum «hard state» bringt mit sich, dass die Obrigkeit viel höhere Anforderungen an die Untertanen stellt oder in ihrem Namen und zu ihrem Behufe stellen lässt, und dass viel strenger darauf geachtet wird, dass die Forderungen auch erfüllt werden. Dadurch fliesst der Obrigkeit ein viel grösserer Teil des Überschusses des Produktionssektors zu. Wenn dem staatlichen Druck kein Gegendruck entgegengesetzt werden kann, tritt zunehmende Verarmung ein. Wenn Widerstand geleistet wird, entweder von einzelnen Untertanen oder in organisiertem Zusammenschluss, reagiert die Obrigkeit mit stärkerem Druck. So entsteht eine spiralförmige Bewegung in der Richtung auf immer schärfere Konflikte zwischen Obrigkeit und Untertanen, wobei Gefahr droht, dass politisch und gesellschaftlich alles auseinanderfällt.

Weil Übereinstimmung, Konsensus, für jede Gemeinschaft notwendig ist, kann die Obrigkeit sich nicht damit begnügen Zwang auszuüben. Sie muss sich die aktive Unterstützung von einer Ideologie erwerben, die in breiten Schichten der Bevölkerung Anhang findet. Wir zitieren einen Satz von Jon Elster, den er von Hegel entlehnt hat: «the master cannot rest content with power over the slave's outward behaviour, he also wants to reach out and dominate his mind»⁹. Weil es für die Untertanen psychisch unerträglich ist, dauernd in einem Zustand machtloser Frustration zu leben, haben sie von selbst die Neigung, nach einer ideologischen Rechtfertigung ihrer untergeordneten Stellung zu suchen. (Diese These ist bei Tocqueville zu finden.)

Was die Spätantike betrifft, kann man all diese Thesen mittels der Quellen, die uns zur Verfügung stehen, ausführlich dokumentieren. Dafür ist hier kein Raum. Wir müssen uns damit begnügen, auf einige Tatsachen hinzuweisen:

In Anzahl Soldaten ausgedrückt war die Macht eines spätrömischen Kaisers ungefähr doppelt so gross als die Macht eines Kaisers aus dem ersten Jahrhundert nach Chr. Auf Grund der Angaben, die er der *Notitia Dignitatum* von ungefähr 425 entnimmt, hat Jones die totale Stärke des Heeres jener Zeit auf etwa 600 000 Mann geschätzt¹⁰. In

⁹ Jon ELSTER, *Irrational Politics*, *London Review of Books*, 21 August - 3 September 1980, S. 11.

¹⁰ A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire. A Social, Economic and Administrative*

Geld umgerechnet bedeutet das viel mehr als eine Verdoppelung: der Sold war schon seit etwa 200 nach Chr. drastisch erhöht worden, kriegerische Unternehmungen waren an der Tagesordnung, und ausserdem waren die Kosten viel höher, weil mehr Gebrauch gemacht wurde von der Kavallerie.

Ramsay MacMullen hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Militarisierung des öffentlichen Lebens auch auf die allgemeine Geisteshaltung ihren Stempel gedrückt hat, weil «the military mind» auch auf andere Gebiete ausserhalb des Heeres übergriff. Als Kennzeichen des «military mind» zählt er auf: «a dislike of risky change, a fundamental conservatism, a minute obedience to authorised precedent, a tendency to reduce men to fixed positions, arranged in a careful hierarchy». Dienst für den Kaiser wurde ohne weiteres *militia* genannt, auch wenn es sich um Beamtenposten im lauterer Zivildienst handelte; zu *cingulum* (Koppelriemen) und *sacramentum militare* (Fahneneid) war man auch im zivilen Sektor verpflichtet¹¹.

Wir erlauben uns ein wenig vorzugreifen und schon hier zu erwähnen, wie hoch andererseits der *mousikos anèr* geschätzt und gepriesen wurde. Denn der Gedanke ist verlockend, dass man dies Phänomen als eine Art bewussten oder unbewussten Protestes gegen die Militarisierung interpretieren könnte: Römer, die nach ihrem Tode lieber als Männer von Bildung und Kultur dargestellt werden wollten und nicht als Beamte oder Offiziere. Constantin der Grosse und Valentinianus I standen in dem Rufe *semi-agrestes* (bäurisch grob) zu sein. Das war für sie ein zwingender Grund dafür zu sorgen, dass ihre Söhne, Crispus und Gratianus, ihre intellektuelle Ausbildung bei den besten Lehrern erhielten, die es gab: Lactantius und Ausonius¹². Theoderich der Grosse liess durch Cassiodorus gern rühmend hervorheben, dass er verglichen mit andern germanischen Königen ein sehr gebildeter Mann war¹³. Boethius, der ausgesprochene Typ eines Intellektuellen, hielt sich im Jahre 510 für einen besonders guten Konsul, weil er sich nicht wie seine

Survey II, Oxford 1964, S. 679-686; D. HOFFMANN, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, Düsseldorf 1969-1970.

¹¹ R. MACMULLEN, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1963, S. 174ff.

¹² H.-I. MARROU, *op. cit.* (n.1), S. 63ff.; H.-I. MARROU, *Mousikos Anèr. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Grenoble 1938.

¹³ S. z.B. Cassiodorus, *Variae* I 45, in *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, rec. Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin 1894, S. 39ff.

Vorgänger aus längst vergangenen Zeiten für Kriegführung interessierte, sondern für etwas viel Besseres, nämlich Philosophie¹⁴.

Für die Kontrolle, ob die Untertanen die erlassenen Beschlüsse auch ausführten, verfügte der Kaiser über einen Stab von Beamten. Erst in der Spätantike nahmen diese Behörden einen solchen Umfang an, dass man von einer Bürokratie sprechen kann. Nach modernen Schätzungen betrug die Gesamtzahl der Beamten ungefähr 30 000. Wenn man die Menge der Aufgaben berücksichtigt, ist das keine übertrieben hohe Zahl. Aber man muss dabei im Auge behalten, dass diese Beamten mit einem System von Erpressung und Korruption, das immer weiter um sich griff, der Gesellschaft eine Gesamtsumme an Geld und Gut entzogen, die bestimmt grösser und wahrscheinlich sogar viel grösser war als der Nominalbetrag ihrer Gehälter¹⁵.

In der Soziologie wird der Term Bürokratie gebraucht, um die Verwaltungsform grosser Organisationen zu bezeichnen. Charakteristisch für diese Form der Verwaltung sind: zentrale Leitung, hierarchische Rangordnung der Funktionäre, Beschlussfassung nach allgemeinen Regeln, Routineverfahren gestützt auf schriftliche Kommunikation und Information, und unpersönliche Beziehungen zwischen Beamten und Publikum. In dieser Umschreibung ist miteinbegriffen, dass in einer Bürokratie ohne Ansehen der Person vorgegangen wird. Menschen sind Nummern und keine Individuen.

Zentrale Leitung und strenghierarchische Rangordnung: in dieser Hinsicht war die spätrömische Bürokratie tatsächlich eine Bürokratie. Jeder hohe Beamte, vom Rang des Statthalters einer Provinz aufwärts, verfügte über Büroangestellte, von denen ein Teil im Aussendienst tätig war. (Am Ende der Regierung des Augustus gab es beinahe 30 Provinzen. Im dritten Jahrhundert war ihre Zahl auf zwischen 40 und 50 angewachsen, mehr durch eine andere Einteilung als durch neue Eroberungen. Diocletian führte kurz vor 300 nach Chr. eine Neuordnung der Provinzen durch und brachte ihre Zahl auf mehr als 120¹⁶.) Ein Verwaltungsbüro mit allem, was dazu gehört, wurde mit dem Wort *officium* bezeichnet; die einzelnen Büroangestellten hiessen *officiales*. Alle wurden formell

¹⁴ Boethius, *In categorias*, prooemium, in J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* 64, S. 201B. V. Ennodius, *De Boetio spata cincto*, in *Magni Felicis Ennodi Opera*, rec. F. VOGEL, Berlin 1885, S. 249.

¹⁵ G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*, London 1981, S. 491ff.

¹⁶ A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) III, S. 381-391.

durch kaiserlichen Beschluss ernannt. Innerhalb eines *officium* waren die Beamten nicht nur nach Rangabstufungen gegliedert. Bei Beamten desselben Ranges gab es auch noch eine Reihenfolge nach dem Grade der Wichtigkeit. Beförderung erfolgte grundsätzlich nach Dienstalter. Man hielt sich in der Praxis auch streng an diesen Grundsatz, um dem Freundendienst so viel wie möglich vorzubeugen. (Zugleich wurde dadurch verhindert, dass *officiales* probierten durch besondere Leistungen emporzukommen.) *Primicerius* — von *primus* und *cera* (Wachstäfelchen) — war der Titel des Mannes, der als erster oben an der Liste des *officium* stand. Versetzung nach einem andern *officium* war sehr ungewöhnlich¹⁷.

Alle *officiales* standen unter der permanenten Aufsicht des *magister officiorum*, einer Art Generalinspektor, der zur Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe ein ganzes Heer von *agentes in rebus* in Dienst hatte, die sehr bald ausser den *officiales* auch alle möglichen anderen Einwohner des Reiches überwachten¹⁸.

Wenn wir den Punkt des Handelns ohne Ansehen der Person ins Auge fassen, können wir das Wort Bürokratie in seiner soziologischen Bedeutung nicht auf den spätrömischen Verwaltungsapparat anwenden. So wie in der Rechtsprechung ein öffentliches und gesetzlich festgelegtes System in Kraft war, wobei *honestiores* (Mitglieder der Oberschicht) für dasselbe Vergehen eine leichtere Strafe erhielten als *humiliores* (Mitglieder der Unterschicht)¹⁹, so wurde das Verhalten des Beamtenstandes vertikal gekennzeichnet durch Unterwürfigkeit nach oben und Unterdrückung nach unten, was mit dem unpersönlichen und formalistischen Charakter der modernen Bürokratie (im rein soziologischen Sinne des Wortes) ganz und gar im Widerspruch ist. Um die Unterdrückung anschaulich zu machen, kann man ohne Mühe eine Sammlung von Greuelgeschichten zusammenstellen, die das erbarmungslose Auftreten der Beamten bei der Steuereinzahlung unter den Namenlosen auf dem Lande illustrieren. Ammianus Marcellinus erwähnt beiläufig (anschliessend an seinen ausführlichen Bericht über den hohen Stand der Wissenschaft in Alexandria), dass ein ägyptischer Bauer stolz darauf ist, wenn sein Körper mit Narben und Striemen bedeckt ist, die Kontakte mit den

¹⁷ J. BLEICKEN, *Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte des Römischen Kaiserreiches I*, Paderborn 1978, S. 153ff.

¹⁸ M. CLAUSS, *Der Magister officiorum in der Spätantike (4.-6. Jahrhundert)*, München 1980.

¹⁹ P. GARNSEY, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1970.

Steuereinnehmern ihm besorgt haben²⁰. Das kann man nicht abtun als witzige Bemerkung eines Historikers, der die ägyptischen Fellah's mit ihren ewigen Klagen und ihrem Widerstand gegen die Obrigkeit nicht leiden konnte. Man könnte einwenden, dass die Steuereintreiber, die diesen Fellah's das Leben schwer machten, keine *officiales*, sondern *curiales* waren, Mitglieder des *ordo decurionum* aus der Gegend, der «städtischen» Elite (auf dem Lande, in Ägypten, ist es sinnvoll, das Wort in Anführungsstriche zu setzen), die überall im Reich kollektiv verantwortlich waren für das Eingehen der auferlegten fiskalen Pflichten. Der Einwand stimmt wahrscheinlich. Die spätrömischen *curiales* waren berüchtigt wegen ihrer Unterdrückung des Volkes, und zwar so berüchtigt, dass Kaiser Justinianus 531 gerade das als Argument gebraucht um sie für ewig vom Priester- und Bischofsamt auszuschliessen²¹. Das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass während des ganzen späten Altertums die grosse Mehrzahl der Priester und Bischöfe aus dem Stand der *curiales* hervorgegangen ist, obwohl ähnliche Proteste wie der Justinians schon viel früher innerhalb der Kirche laut geworden waren. Papst Innocenz zum Beispiel hatte auch seine Zweifel über die bekehrten Zöllner²².

Ihrerseits wurden die *curiales* von seiten der *officiales* unter ebenso schweren Druck gesetzt. Im *Codex Theodosianus* erfährt man genug darüber. Geißelung von Bürgern und erst recht von *honestiores* (zu dieser Gruppe gehörten die *curiales*) war lange Zeit einfach undenkbar. Aber 349 oder 350 erscheint ein Gesetz, wodurch ausdrücklich verboten wird, *curiales* zu geißeln. Es kam also vor. Zehn Jahre später, 359, wurde ein gleichlautendes Gesetz erlassen. Offensichtlich war es nötig. Im Jahre 376 folgte ein Gesetz, das voller Widersprüche ist und dadurch die Unsicherheit des Gesetzgebers deutlich ans Licht bringt. Erst wird gesagt, dass die Anwendung von *fidiculae* (eine bestimmte Sorte Peitsche) und anderer Folterwerkzeuge bei *curiales* nicht erlaubt ist. Im nächsten Abschnitt steht zu lesen, dass es nötigenfalls gestattet ist, *curiales* gefügig zu machen, dadurch dass man sie die *plumbatae* (eine mit Blei verstärkte Peitsche) fühlen lässt. *Habeatur moderatio*, «mit Massen», wird besorgt hinzugefügt. 380 wurde Geißelung von *curiales*

²⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXII 16.23.

²¹ *Codex Iustinianus* I 3.52.1.

²² Innocentius, *Epistulae* 3.4, in J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* 20. V. A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) II, S. 920-929.

wieder verboten. 381 musste das Verbot wiederholt werden. Aber 387 war Geißelung wieder erlaubt. 392 wurde bestimmt, dass nur die Anführer der *curiales* (von den andern wurde schon nicht mehr geredet), die keine Schulden an den Staat haben, das Vorrecht geniessen, von Leibesstrafen freigestellt zu sein. 436 wurde in einem kurzen Paragraphen festgelegt, dass die fünf höchsten Mitglieder des Rates von Alexandrien von Leibesstrafen freigestellt waren. Es ist deutlich, dass gewöhnliche *curiales* nicht auf Freistellung rechnen konnten. Bei ihnen wurde gleich drauflos geschlagen²³. So sah der «hard state» in der Praxis aus. Es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass es innerhalb der Kirche mehrmals Missbilligung erregte, wenn *officiales* in den Klerus eintraten²⁴.

Gegen Personen mit Geld und Einfluss, die *potentes personae*, traten die Steuereinnahmer längst nicht so energisch auf. Die waren und blieben in hohem Masse ungreifbar. Aus der Welt der Spätantike waren Glanz und Pracht nicht verschwunden, sicher nicht in den grossen Städten mit ihrer prachtvollen Architektur. Es gab noch immer «conspicuous consumption», obwohl die Gruppe derjenigen, die die Mittel dazu hatten, kleiner wurde. Es gab reiche Leute, sogar unglaublich reiche Leute. In Rom war im vierten Jahrhundert ein durchschnittlicher Senator etwa fünf mal so reich als ein durchschnittlicher Senator im Rom des ersten Jahrhunderts. Aber die auffallendste Veränderung ist, dass der Unterschied zwischen der kleinen Gruppe der Reichen und der stets wachsenden Masse der Armen sehr viel grösser geworden war. Peter Brown beschreibt die Entwicklung so: «Altogether, the prosperity of the Mediterranean world seems to have drained to the top», und er bezeichnet den Steuerdruck als Hauptursache davon. Dann macht er eine bedeutsame Anspielung auf die christliche Hymne *Dies Irae* und behauptet, dass der Tag des Jüngsten Gerichts nicht ohne Grund so dargestellt würde, als ob ein spätrömischer Steuereinnahmer ankäme, vor dem man zittert: *Quantus tremor est futurus quando iudex est venturus cuncta stricte discussurus*, weil man nichts vor ihm verbergen kann: *quidquid latet apparebit*. Der Schuldner kann ihn nur anflehen, ihm seine Schuld zu erlassen: *donum fac remissionis ante diem rationis*²⁵.

Man könnte auch sagen, dass die Bitte um Vergebung der Schuld

²³ *Codex Theodosianus* XII 1.39 und 47; 9.35; XII 1.80, 85, 117, 126 und 190. V. G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *op. cit.* (n.15), S. 472f.

²⁴ Siricius, *Epistulae* 5.2, in J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* 13. V. A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) III, S. 316 Anm. 137.

²⁵ P. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n.1), S. 34ff.

dimitte nobis debita nostra im Vaterunser seit der Zeit von Jesus von Nazareth aktueller geworden war. Wer keine Schulden hat, braucht nicht um Erlass zu bitten, und wer aus eigener Kraft das tägliche Brot für sich und die Seinen beschaffen kann, braucht nicht darum zu bitten und wird das auch nicht tun. Aber wie wirklichkeitsnah war die Bibel für den spätantiken Menschen!

Was ist Wahrheit? Es gibt einfache Grundwahrheiten, die man nicht vergessen sollte. Zum Beispiel die einfache Wahrheit, dass alles seinen Preis hat. Wenn irgendwo in der spätantiken Welt ein Dichter ein Epos dichtete oder ein Bischof einen Traktat über die Unbeflecktheit schrieb, wenn in Rom im 4. Jahrhundert wirklich 28 öffentliche Bibliotheken vorhanden waren (es ist aber nicht unangebracht, an der Zahl zu zweifeln²⁶), dann war das alles nur möglich, weil in der Landwirtschaft, dem wichtigsten Produktionssektor, ein Überschuss produziert wurde, der es anderen ermöglichte Kultur zu schaffen. Keine *cultura animi* ohne gesunde *agricultura*. Alles geht gut, solange die Arbeiter auf dem Felde selber genug für ihren Lebensunterhalt erwerben, um Jahr für Jahr mit Erfolg ihre Arbeit verrichten zu können. Für viele blieb aber nicht genug übrig. Hier und da liess man Felder brachliegen als Folge zu hoher Steuern. Die Produktion von Nahrungsmitteln muss also zurückgegangen sein.

Man hat Tausende von Grabinschriften biometrisch untersucht und festgestellt, dass für die Welt der Spätantike ein demographisches Modell mit hohen Sterblichkeitsziffern für Männer und Frauen, Jungen und Mädchen zutrifft, das dem einiger unterentwickelter Länder des 20. Jahrhunderts sehr ähnlich ist. Die Masse der Bauern lebte an der Grenze des Existenzminimums. Rückgang der Nahrungsmittelproduktion bedeutete noch weniger Lebensmittel für jeden einzelnen von einer Bevölkerung, die zum grossen Teil nicht mehr als das absolute Minimum hatte. Dadurch wurde die Bevölkerung dezimiert, noch abgesehen von mehr oder weniger zufälligen Katastrophen wie Pestepidemien, Hungersnot und Barbareneinfällen. Moderne Analogien lehren, dass hohe Sterblichkeit einigermassen kompensiert wird durch nicht weniger hohe Geburtenzahlen. Aber das Problem lag vor allem darin dass die Bauern, wenn sie alle fiskalen Pflichten erfüllt hatten, nicht mehr genug übrig behielten, um ihre Kinder grosszuziehen. Eine der Folgeerscheinungen war, dass Kinderverkauf und Kindermord häufig vorkamen²⁷. Solche

²⁶ K. PREISENDANZ, art. *Bibliothek(en)*, in *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1975), Sp. 895.

²⁷ A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) II, S. 1040-1047.

Zustände kann man nicht quasi-objektiv Metamorphose oder Mutation nennen: das ist unleugbarer Niedergang, und diesen Niedergang kann man während der ganzen Periode des späten Altertums feststellen.

Es gab drei Möglichkeiten sich zu widersetzen: passiven Widerstand, offene Rebellion und die Flucht nach sicheren Orten. Passiver Widerstand und Apathie herrschten in hohem Masse. Viele Historiker sind darüber einig, dass dieser Faktor eine nicht unwichtige Rolle gespielt hat beim Zusammenbruch des westlichen Reiches im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert und beim Verlust der östlichen Provinzen an die Araber im 7. Jahrhundert. Offene Rebellion in der Form von Bauernaufständen kam auch vor. Wir weisen auf die mysteriöse Bewegung der Bagauden in Gallien hin. Gegen Angriffe der Barbaren stellten die Bauern sich nur selten zur Wehr. Nicht selten machten sie unverhohlen gemeinsame Sache mit dem Feind oder liefen sie zu ihm über²⁸.

Der Schaden war womöglich noch grösser, wenn die Obrigkeit auf den Widerstand der *potentes*, der Mächtigen, stiess. Der war in einigen Fällen offenbar, zum Beispiel 238, als die Grossgrundbesitzer aus der Umgebung von Karthago mit ihrem Anhang von Bauern-Klienten gegen Kaiser Maximinus Thrax rebellierten²⁹. Aber meistens blieb er im Verborgenen. Das bringt uns zugleich auf den am meisten gebrauchten Fluchtweg der Bauern, den Übergang ins *patrocinium*: Um den Druck der Obrigkeit zu entgehen, gaben kleine freie Bauern in hellen Haufen ihre Selbständigkeit preis und suchten als *coloni*, Hörige, Zuflucht und Schutz bei einem Grossgrundbesitzer, der nicht nur in seinem eignen Gebiet, sondern auch bei der zentralen Obrigkeit Macht und Einfluss hatte. Die Obrigkeit tat alles was sie konnte, um durch Gesetze diese Bewegung ins *patrocinium* zum Stehen zu bringen, weil ihr eigenes Bestehen dadurch bedroht wurde, aber sie war machtlos³⁰. Das ist der Konflikt zwischen *imperium* und *patrocinium/dominium* in der Spätantike. Um es anders zu formulieren: der Konflikt zwischen der grossen Pyramide und den darin eingebauten kleineren Pyramiden. Viele Kaiser haben versucht, die Produktion des Grossgrundbesitzes zum Nutzen des Staates zu mobilisieren³¹. Mit andern Worten: sie versuchten, die kleine-

²⁸ G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *op. cit.* (n.15), S. 265, 474-487, 653 Anm. 42.

²⁹ F. KOLB, *Der Aufstand der Provinz Africa Proconsularis im Jahre 238 n. Chr. Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Hintergründe*, *Historia* 26 (1977), S. 440-478.

³⁰ A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) II, S. 775-788; G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *op. cit.* (n.15), S. 224ff.

³¹ M.T.W. ARNHEIM, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford

ren Pyramiden als Material für das Fundament der grossen Pyramide zu gebrauchen. Deswegen hat Constantin der Grosse (306-337) der Senatsaristokratie eine hervorragende Rolle in den höchsten Rängen der Verwaltung zugewiesen. Aber der Adel hat seinerseits sein Wirtschaftspotential offensichtlich nicht zum allgemeinen Nutzen angewendet, er hat seine *res privata* nicht in den Dienst der *res publica* gestellt, sondern im Gegenteil seinen Einfluss im Verwaltungsapparat dazu benutzt, um seine eigene ökonomische Macht noch zu verstärken. Übertragen auf unser Modell von der grossen und den kleineren «eingebauten» Pyramiden bedeutet das, dass die kleineren Pyramiden einen Platz ausserhalb der grossen Pyramide eingenommen haben, was zur Folge gehabt hat, dass diese eines Tages einfach einstürzte, weil sie kein Tragvermögen mehr hatte.

Eine treffende Beschreibung eines grossen Herrn von hohem Adel finden wir bei Ammianus Marcellinus. Er schreibt ausführlich über Sextus Petronius Probus, das Oberhaupt der christlichen Familie der Anicier, und behauptet, dass dieser sein Leben lang im Dienst des Kaisers hohe Ämter in der Verwaltung bekleidet habe, nur weil er auf diese Weise die Interessen seiner Familie und seiner Klienten am besten wahrnehmen konnte. In der Augen seiner Klienten war er ein guter *patronus*, weil er ihnen bei ihren üblen Machenschaften Deckung verschaffte. Er verteidigte sie durch dick und dünn, selbst wenn er dadurch mit den Regeln des Rechts in Konflikt kam, *vel ipsa repugnante Iustitia*. Im übrigen wurde das Verhalten des Petronius Probus auch gekennzeichnet durch die Vertikale: Untertänigkeit nach oben, Unterdrückung nach unten. Ammianus schildert ihn als ängstlich den Dreisten gegenüber, hochfahrend den Ängstlichen gegenüber, argwöhnisch, als einen Mann der schmeichelt, wenn er schaden will. Alles Eigenschaften, die man bei Menschen, die in einer korrupten Gesellschaft leben, erwarten kann. Solche Typen gibt es in ähnlichen Formen der Gesellschaft (zum Beispiel in Russland im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert) in Hülle und Fülle. Sogar für Menschen in hohen Positionen wie Petronius Probus war es nötig unablässig auf der Hut zu sein: *in summis divitiarum et dignitatum culminibus anxius et sollicitus*³². Die Spätantike als «Age of Anxiety» (E.R. Dodds)³³.

1972; M.A. WES, *Patrocinium en imperium in het laat-Romeinse Westen*, TG 87 (1974), S. 147-159.

³² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXVII 11.

³³ E.R. DODDS, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety. Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*, Cambridge 1965.

Versetzen wir uns in die Lage eines kleinen selbständigen Bauern. Misshandelt und ausgesogen kann er kaum sein Leben fristen. Er muss seine Kinder wie Hänsel und Gretel im Wald zurücklassen und freut sich nicht, wenn sie den Weg zurück nach Hause finden. Er flüchtet und sucht Schutz bei einem Grundherrn. Der Grundherr bietet ihm Schutz. Wie wird der Bauer dann zu seinem Herrn sprechen? Er wird ihm Lob und Dank sagen, etwa mit folgenden Worten: «Herr, Du bist gross und sehr zu loben. Gross ist Deine Güte. Ich will Dich preisen. Den Stolzen widerstehst Du und den Niedrigen bist Du gnädig». Das sind ungefähr die Anfangszeilen von Augustins *Confessiones*.

Bedeutete das *patrocinium* eines *potens* für die Machtlosen wirklich eine Verbesserung? In vielen Fällen wahrscheinlich ja. Denn im Widerstand gegen die Zentralregierung liefen die Interessen beider Parteien parallel. Grundherren konnten zum Beispiel verhindern, dass die Obrigkeit unter ihren *coloni* Soldaten rekrutierte, sie konnten nötigenfalls sogar eine bewaffnete Miliz von *coloni* gegen die Obrigkeit aufstellen. Andererseits war es ein weit verbreiteter Missstand, dass *coloni* einfach wegliefen und versuchten, einen Schutzherrn gegen den andern umzutauschen, was nur zu erklären ist, wenn man sich die Schutzherrschaft nicht in allzu rosigem Licht väterlicher Sorge vorstellt. Aber das Volk hoffte trotzdem auf einen guten Hirten. Als der reiche Senator Pinianus bei Augustinus, der damals schon Bischof von Hippo war, zu Besuch kam, hielten die Bürger der Stadt eine stürmische Demonstration, um Pinianus dazu zu bewegen, *patronus* der Stadt zu werden. Das gelang nicht³⁴.

Das Auftreten lebender Heiliger ist ein Phänomen, das wahrscheinlich in diesem Zusammenhang begreiflich werden kann: Das Volk verlangte nach einem echten *patronus*, einem wirklichen Schutzherrn³⁵. Der traditionelle weltliche *patronus* konnte sogar für seine eigene *clientela* Ursache von Konflikten und Zerfall werden, und zwar von dem Augenblick an, dass er von der Obrigkeit den Auftrag erhielt, die Eintreibung der offiziell für den Fiskus bestimmten Gelder und Güter zu leiten, wozu er befähigt war, da der Kaiser ihm von jeher hohe Ämter in der Verwaltung anvertraute. Aber auch ohne das kann man annehmen, dass das Übel der Unterdrückung und Erpressung überall um sich gegriffen

³⁴ Augustinus, *Epistulae* 125 und 126.

³⁵ P. BROWN, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, London-Chicago 1981; P. BROWN, *The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity*, in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, London 1982, S. 103-152.

hatte. Auch wenn die Reichen nichts oder nur wenig an den Staat gezahlt haben, ist noch nicht anzunehmen, dass sie bei ihren Untergebenen nichts eingenommen haben. Auf irgend eine Weise müssen sie doch an ihren sprichwörtlichen Reichtum gekommen sein.

Der Fluchtweg mit den besten Chancen war der in die Kirche. Es war ein viel begangener Weg. Auf diese Weise konnte man unter anderem sich den Verpflichtungen entziehen, die die Mitglieder des *ordo decurionum* schwer belasteten. Es ist unmöglich, die Gesamtzahl der Geistlichen und Mönche auch nur ungefähr zu schätzen, aber es ist wahrscheinlich nicht übertrieben, für die ganze Periode der Spätantike mit Ziffern in der Höhe von Hunderttausenden zu rechnen. Von dieser grossen Anzahl lebten nur die niedere Geistlichkeit und die Mönche im östlichen Teil des Reiches vom Ertrag ihrer eigenen Arbeit. (Benedikts Vorschrift, nicht nur zu beten sondern auch zu arbeiten, *ora et labora*, war im Westen des Reiches keineswegs überflüssig.) Von den Einkünften der Kirche (ausschliesslich der Klöster) wurden etwa 25% für karitative Zwecke und 50% für die Gehälter des Klerus verwendet. Im 6. Jahrhundert war die Geistlichkeit grösser in Anzahl als die Beamtenschaft der Verwaltung. Ihr Durchschnittsgehalt war auch viel höher³⁶. Diese summarischen Andeutungen erlauben uns doch, den Schluss zu ziehen, dass auch die Kirche als eine «eingebaute» Pyramide betrachtet werden kann.

Die im Anfang dieses Abschnittes gestellten Fragen können wir nun beantworten wie folgt: aus der Nähe betrachtet sieht die nicht abgestumpfte Pyramide der Gesellschaft des späten Altertums aus wie eine Pyramide, deren Krone, der Kaiser, dauernd in Gefahr ist, den Boden unter den Füßen zu verlieren. Diese Gefahr wird desto grösser, je mehr die kleineren eingebauten Pyramiden, die nötig sind, um ihn zu tragen, wegrücken und einen Platz ausserhalb des Ganzen einnehmen.

Im «soft state» der frühen Kaiserzeit mit einem verhältnismässig hohen Grad von Consensus war der Kaiser viel mehr *dominus*, als er fühlen liess, denn Machtentfaltung war nicht nötig. Im «hard state» der späten Kaiserzeit mit verhältnismässig viel Konflikten und Widerstand war der Kaiser viel weniger *dominus*, als er es scheinen lassen wollte.

5. LITERATUR ZWISCHEN MACHT UND MACHTLOSIGKEIT: HORIZONTALISMUS UND VERTIKALISMUS

Letzte Frage: Wie ist das Verhältnis zwischen dem oben beschriebenen

³⁶ A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n.10) II, S. 894-910, 1046.

Modell der Gesellschaft des späten Altertums und der Literatur derselben Periode?

Wie wir bereits dargelegt haben, verstehen wir unter Gesellschaft eine Gesamtheit von Menschen, die miteinander verkehren oder kommunizieren. Literatur ist eine Form von Kommunikation. Bei unsrer Beschreibung des «hard state» haben wir darauf hingewiesen, dass an der Spitze und an der Basis, bei der Obrigkeit und bei den Untertanen, das Bedürfnis nach einer Ideologie besteht. Wir gebrauchen das Wort Ideologie hier in neutraler Bedeutung. Also eine Ideologie ist ein mehr oder weniger geschlossenes System von Gedanken, Gefühlen und Zielsetzungen. Es ist einleuchtend, dass die Ideologie einer bestimmten Periode in der Literatur dieser Periode zum Ausdruck kommt. Darum stellen wir uns die Frage: Was lehrt uns die spätantike Literatur über die Ideologie der Spätantike?

Bei der Beantwortung dieser Frage machen wir einen Unterschied zwischen Horizontalismus und Vertikalismus, zwischen der horizontalen und der vertikalen Richtung. Unter der horizontalen Richtung verstehen wir die Einstellung in der Kunst und vor allem in der Literatur, die zur oben S. 175-176 beschriebenen horizontalen Kommunikation gehört, die dem Gesellschaftsmodell der abgestumpften Pyramide entspricht. Unter vertikaler Richtung verstehen wir eine Einstellung in Kunst und Literatur, die zur oben beschriebenen vertikalen Kommunikation gehört, die dem Gesellschaftsmodell der nicht abgestumpften Pyramide entspricht.

Das Christentum ist in Kunst und Literatur ausschliesslich vertikal gerichtet. Aber auch das Heidentum des späten Altertums zeigt einen ausgesprochen vertikalen Zug in der Weise, wie die Beziehungen zwischen den Göttern des alten Pantheons geregelt werden. Man behielt zwar den Glauben an viele Götter, aber man stellte deutlich einen obersten Gott an die Spitze der Hierarchie der Götter. Jupiter war schon von alters her *Optimus Maximus* gewesen, aber im späten Altertum wurde der Superlativ ins Quadrat erhoben. Sein Titel war nun *Jupiter Summus Exsuperantissimus*. Auch der Neuplatonismus muss der vertikalen Richtung zugeordnet werden, obwohl er aus einem philosophischen System des klassischen Athen entsprungen ist.

Über die horizontale Richtung können wir uns kurz fassen. Sie ist je länger je mehr beschränkt auf eine kleine Gruppe, die sich gegen die allgemeine Tendenz zur Vertikalen und zur Sakrierung zu behaupten versucht. Durch diese Situation wurde diese Gruppe dazu gebracht, eine esoterische Haltung anzunehmen. Man hegte ein grosses Verlangen nach

der guten alten Zeit und bemühte sich, das Erbe zu inventarisieren und zu erhalten. Endziel aller höheren Bildung war noch immer das Ideal, das Cicero vorgezeichnet und empfohlen hatte, der *doctus orator*, dessen Erfolg auf *eloquentia* und *eruditio* beruht. Aber die *eloquentia* erstarrte mehr und mehr zum *sermo scholasticus*, einer Gelehrtensprache, die von der gesprochenen Sprache stark abwich, worin sich die tiefe Kluft in Gesellschaft und Kultur widerspiegelte. Es wurde eine Sprache *non vitae sed scholae*. Und wenn für die Abiturienten der Schule kein Platz und keine Funktion im Leben mehr zu finden sind, dann entartet die *grammatica magistra verborum ornatrix humani generis*³⁷ zu einem kraftlosen Gestammel. *Eruditio*, Kenntnis, verliert allen Zusammenhang. Die *historia naturalis* zersplittert in unzusammenhängende Anhäufungen von *mirabilia*, «Wunderdinge». Der Gelehrte ist mehr Sammler als Untersucher. *Curiositas* trägt den Stempel von «L'art pour l'art». Es fehlt das Streben, Zusammenhänge und allgemeine Gesetze zu erforschen.

Johannes Philoponus aus Alexandria schrieb im 6. Jahrhundert einen Aristoteleskommentar. Obwohl er ein überzeugter Christ war, gründete er seine scharfe Kritik an der Physik und besonders an der Bewegungslehre des Aristoteles auf eine Kombination von Wahrnehmungen, Experimenten und wissenschaftlichem Denken und kann darum noch als bemerkenswerter Vertreter der horizontalen Richtung in der Naturwissenschaft betrachtet werden³⁸. Aber für diese Form der reinen Wissenschaft war es keineswegs beförderlich, dass gewisse Aussagen von zum Beispiel Tertullianus und Augustinus zu irrationalen, kulturfeindlichen Auslegungen allen Anlass gaben. Tertullianus hatte die Sicherheit des Glaubens. Er brauchte nicht mehr zu suchen um zu finden. Er bemitleidet den unglücklichen Aristoteles mit seinen unnützen Fragen und Gedankengängen, die kriechen wie Schlangen und Krebse (*sermones serpentes velut cancer*)³⁹. Augustinus schreibt im *Encheiridion*, dass es für den Christen genug sei zu wissen, dass Gott in seiner Güte die Natur und alle Dinge geschaffen hat⁴⁰. Daran hat Kosmas Indikopleustes sich wörtlich gehalten. Er war ein Zeitgenosse des Johannes Philoponus und kam auch aus Alexandria. Aber er gehörte ganz und gar ins Lager der Vertikalen. Mit der Bibel in der Hand bekämpft er das Weltbild des Claudius Ptolemaeus und die wissenschaftliche Wahrheit von der Kugel-

³⁷ Cassiodorus, *Variae* IX 21.

³⁸ S. SAMBURY, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity*, London 1962.

³⁹ Tertullianus, *De praescriptione adversus haereticos* 7.6.

⁴⁰ Augustinus, *Encheiridion* 3.9.

form der Erde. Geradezu gottlos und verwerflich findet er den Versuch, die Phänomene der Natur, den Lauf der Gestirne, den Wechsel der Jahreszeiten und den von Tag und Nacht als Spiel mechanischer Kräfte zu beschreiben, und nicht als das Werk einer Legion von Engeln, die Gott speziell dafür angestellt hat und die ihm gehorchen «wie Soldaten ihrem König»⁴¹. Für den, der glaubt, ist es überflüssig, ja gefährlich, alles kritisch und aus eigener Erfahrung untersuchen zu wollen. An die Stelle der Verwunderung, die dazu führt, dass man Fragen stellt, tritt Bewunderung, wobei man der Autorität glaubt auch ohne zu begreifen.

Was bedeutet Glauben? Menschen glauben einem andern, wenn sie keine Antwort wissen. Antwort bedeutet Gegenwort. Sich wehren. Wer sich nicht wehren kann, gibt den Streit auf, kapituliert, wird *servus*. Er bittet um Frieden, er kann nur noch ein Gebet aussprechen: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat*: «Herr, höre mein Gebet und lass mein Schreien zu dir kommen!» Der Herr, der *dominus*, hat das letzte Wort. Von seinem Wort hängt die Rettung des Knechtes, des *servus*, ab. (Augustinus lehrt, dass *servus* abgeleitet ist von *servare*, retten.) *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace*, «Herr, nun lässtest du deinen Diener im Frieden fahren, wie du gesagt hast». *Exultabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me*, «Ich preise dich, Herr, denn du hast mich erhört»⁴².

Der *dominus* hat das letzte Wort. An der Richtigkeit des Wortes zu zweifeln kommt nicht in Betracht. Im Jahre 384 erliessen die Kaiser Gratianus, Valentinianus und Theodosius ein Verbot, an der Richtigkeit einer kaiserlichen Entscheidung (*principale iudicium*) zu zweifeln. Wer doch Zweifel äussert, begeht, wie es in dem Erlass heisst, eine Art von Heiligtumsschändung (*sacrilegii instar*)⁴³. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass dieser Erlass eine Reaktion auf einen Brief des Stadtpräfekten Symmachus ist, der sich untertänig darüber beschwert hatte, dass einige der vom Kaiser ernannten Beamten seines Büros unfähige Menschen waren⁴⁴. Es gab nur eine einzige Form der *curiositas*, die erlaubt war und sogar gefördert wurde, nämlich die der *curiosi*, der Beamten der Geheimpolizei, die dafür berüchtigt waren, dass sie ungehemmt alle Mittel der Einschüchterung und Erpressung anwendeten⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christianikè topographia* II 83-84.

⁴² Psalm 102; Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* XIX 15; Lukas 2.29; Psalm 29.

⁴³ *Codex Theodosianus* I 6.9.

⁴⁴ Symmachus, *Relatio* 17.

⁴⁵ W. BLUM, *Curiosi und Regendarii. Untersuchungen zur geheimen Staatspolizei der Spätantike*, Bonn 1969; W. SCHULLER, *Grenzen des spätrömischen Staates. Staatspolizei und Korruption*, ZPE 16 (1975), S. 1-21.

Symmachus wagte es, vorsichtige und bedeckte Kritik am Kaiser und dessen *principale iudicium* zu äussern, weil er von der Idee ausging, dass das Verhältnis des Kaisers zum Stadtpräfekten, dem Leiter des Senats (der noch im 6. Jahrhundert *aula Libertatis*, «Hof der Freiheit», genannt wurde⁴⁶), das des *primus inter pares* wäre. Symmachus hat diesen Gedanken in seinem literarischen Werk an mehreren Stellen ausgesprochen. Man trifft ihn auch regelmässig an im Werk des Claudianus⁴⁷ und selbst später noch in den *Variae* des Cassiodorus und der *Historia Anecdota* von Procopius. (Die beiden letzten gehören ins 6. Jahrhundert.) Procopius fand es übrigens ratsamer, seine *Anecdota* nicht zu veröffentlichen! Sowie das letzte Vorkommen der horizontalen Richtung in der Naturwissenschaft im Werk des Johannes Philoponus zu finden war, so kommt hier die horizontale Richtung zum letzten Mal zum Ausdruck in der Literatur.

Wenden wir uns nun einigen Belegstellen der vertikalen Richtung zu, vorzugsweise des christlichen Teils. «The climax of imperial dignity was reached under Christianity», stellte A.D. Nock fest⁴⁸. De Ste.Croix hat kürzlich darauf hingewiesen, dass wir eine anschauliche Beschreibung dieser Climax bei zwei Autoren finden, die in Zeit weit auseinanderliegen (aber auch nur in Zeit): nämlich Eusebius mit seinem *Triakontaeterikos* von 336 («wearisome reading today, whether in Greek or in English, but it should not be missed» schreibt de Ste.Croix) und Corippus mit seinem Gedicht *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* von 567 zum Lobe des byzantinischen Kaisers Justinus II⁴⁹. Um deutlich zu machen, welche ideologische Unterstützung die christliche vertikale Richtung der Obrigkeit verschaffte, können wir uns mit Corippus begnügen.

Der Dichter lässt den Kaiser, dessen Lob er singt, eine Rede an den Senat halten⁵⁰. Der Kaiser fängt die Rede damit an festzustellen, dass er seine Macht Gott zu verdanken habe und dass er darum mit dankbarer Ehrfurcht zu diesem furchtbaren König, diesem *rex tremendus*, hinaufblickt. Er fährt fort und vergleicht das Kaiserreich und seine Herrschaft mit dem menschlichen Körper, *corpus*, dessen Haupt er ist, *caput*, Sitz der Weisheit, *sapientia*. Die Senatoren sind die *proxima membra*, die

⁴⁶ Cassiodorus, *Variae* VI 4.

⁴⁷ S. z.B. Claudianus, *De consulatu Stilichonis* III 113-119.

⁴⁸ A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* II, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, S. 658.

⁴⁹ G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *op. cit.* (n.15), S. 399.

⁵⁰ Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris* II 178-274.

oberen Glieder, die dem Haupt am nächsten sind, *pectus* und *brachia*, Brust und Arme, während die *plebes*, das Volk, *pedes* und *membra minora*, die Füße und die kleineren Glieder darstellen. Es ist deutlich dass der Körper nur gut funktioniert, wenn alle Glieder einträchtig zusammenarbeiten. Niemand sollte irgend einen Teil des Körpers gering achten: *nullus vile putet quod novit corporis esse, nullus laedendi pateat locus*. Hier klingt ein Wort des Paulus an: «Und so ein Glied leidet, so leiden alle Glieder mit» (1 Kor. 12.26).

Ein Teil des Körpers wurde noch nicht genannt. Der Magen. Der Magen, das ist der Fiskus. Der Magen muss immer gefüllt werden, sonst, so ruft der Kaiser aus, verkümmern alle Teile des Körpers. Die Ermahnungen, dass die Steuerpflicht erfüllt werden müsse, ziehen sich noch bis zum Ende der Rede hin, ungefähr 25 Verse lang. Dieser Punkt verdiente offenbar die grösste Beachtung. Die Rede wird abgeschlossen mit einer Warnung und einem Wunsch. Der Kaiser spricht die Warnung aus, dass er es nicht dulden werde, dass irgend jemand den heiligen Fiskus, den *sacratum fiscum*, schädigt, und ebenso wenig, dass jemand von wegen des Fiskus Schaden leidet. Der Wunsch aber lautet: *utantur cuncti propriis ac iure fruantur*, «mögen alle ihre Eigentümer besitzen und sie rechtmässig geniessen». *Res publica* gegenüber *res privata* in der Formulierung eines spätrömischen Gedichtes.

Zwei Dinge fallen uns auf: erstens der regelmässige Gebrauch des Konjunktivs oder Optativs an Stelle des Indikativs — der Kaiser konstatiert nicht, sondern empfiehlt an — und zweitens, zum Unterschied mit dem Brief des Paulus an die Korinther, die strenge Hierarchie und das Fehlen des Gedankens, dass den *membra minora* mehr Ehre zukommt als den *membra maiora*. Paulus sagt (im Indikativ): «Und die uns dünken am wenigsten ehrbar zu sein, denen legen wir am meisten Ehre an; und die uns übel anstehen, die schmückt man am meisten. Denn die uns wohl anstehen, die bedürfen's nicht. Aber Gott hat den Leib also vermengt und dem dürftigen Glied am meisten Ehre gegeben, auf dass nicht eine Spaltung im Leibe sei, sondern die Glieder füreinander gleich sorgen»⁵¹. Paulus meint damit die Glieder des *corpus Christi*, der Gemeinde.

Das christliche vertikale Denken hat seinen Ursprung in der historischen Wirklichkeit der pyramideförmigen Gesellschaft des Nahen Ostens. Es wurde im Alten und Neuen Testament endgültig formuliert

⁵¹ 1 Kor. 12.23-25.

und in der christlichen Literatur des späten Altertums im neuen Stil des *sermo humilis* mit den Kunstgriffen der Allegorie und Typologie feiner ausgearbeitet. Worauf beruht seine grosse Kraft? Es ist imstande, die herrschenden Verhältnisse nach oben als von Gottes Gnaden zu rechtfertigen und nach unten als von Gott gegeben zu akzeptieren. Zugleich bietet es denen unten die gläubige Hoffnung auf eine bessere Welt und ermahnt andererseits die Hochgestellten, dass es im Angesicht des einigen wahren *Dominus et Deus* selbst für den Kaiser ratsam ist, in der Furcht des Herrn zu leben.

Der spätantike Mensch hat nur eine einzige Möglichkeit, den Abstand zwischen sich selbst und den erhabenen Kaiser und den kaum weniger hochgestellten Grossen der Welt, den *potentes personae*, zu verringern, nämlich den Glauben, dass die Wirklichkeit der Pyramide, in der er gefangen ist, nicht die echte Wirklichkeit ist, sondern dass diese Wirklichkeit nur ein winziger Punkt in der millionenmal grösseren Pyramide des Reiches Gottes ist⁵². Mit dem Masse des Gottesreiches gemessen ist aller Abstand innerhalb des winzigen Punktes nichtig. «Denn wer als Knecht berufen ist in dem Herrn, der ist ein Freigelassener des Herrn; desgleichen wer als Freier berufen ist, der ist ein Knecht Christi»: *qui liber vocatus est, servus est Christi* (1 Kor. 7.22).

Wenn nun das wahre, unsichtbare Reich solch eine ungeheuer grosse Pyramide ist, dann muss man auch annehmen, dass es bevölkert ist mit Millionen okkulten Wesen, guten und schlechten genau wie auf der sichtbaren Welt, mit Engeln und Dämonen. Ein guter Christ kämpft gegen die Dämonen und den Teufel, den *Inimicus* ohnegleichen, den Widersacher des *Amicus* ohnegleichen, Christus.

«Deswegen ist ein guter Mensch frei, auch wenn er ein Knecht ist». *Proinde bonus etiamsi serviat, liber est*⁵³. Diese Freien des Herrn werden angeführt von einer Elite von *potentes personae*, die in der millionenfach vergrösserten Pyramide des Reiches Gottes Schutz und Hilfe im *patrocinium* bieten können. Das sind die Märtyrer und Heiligen, die durch ihren Kampf gegen die dunklen Mächte des Bösen das Recht erworben haben, frei heraus zu sprechen vor der für alle anderen Sterblichen unnahbar strengen Majestät Gottes, den man sich im späten Altertum als den Kaiser überlebensgross vorstellte — im Gegensatz zu den ersten drei Jahrhunderten unsrer Zeitrechnung, als die Christen eine kleine

⁵² E. R. DODDS, *op. cit.* (n.33), S. 7ff.

⁵³ Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* IV 3.

geschlossene Gemeinschaft von Eingeweihten bildeten und eine andere, mildere Vorstellung von Gott hatten. Wer sich aber die Freiheit erlauben konnte, vor Gott zu sprechen, der hatte natürlich das vollste Recht dazu gegenüber Kaisern, Ketzern und Heiden. Die Heiligen sind die neue Aristokratie.

Man kann dem Christentum des späten Altertums auch negative Dinge nachsagen. Der Glaube Opium fürs Volk? Das haben aufgeklärte Geister schon von der heidnischen Staatsreligion gesagt, lange vor dem Erscheinen des Christentums. Später erkannten auch mehrere Bischöfe, dass die Kirche als Beruhigungsmittel eine besänftigende Wirkung haben kann. Johannes Chrysostomus gab am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. den Grossgrundbesitzern den Rat, die Christianisierung der Landbewohner kräftig zu fördern⁵⁴. «Viele besitzen Dörfer und Landgüter, aber kümmern sich nicht darum.... Sie interessieren sich nur dafür, dass die Einkünfte steigen.... Aber niemand denkt daran, dass auch die Seelen der Menschen bearbeitet werden müssen als wären sie Ackerland. Wenn Ihr Disteln und Dornen auf dem Felde findet, werden sie abgeschnitten und verbrannt, damit sie keinen Schaden anrichten. Aber wenn Ihr seht, dass die Bauern selber voller Dornen und Disteln sind, tut Ihr nichts.... Wäre es nicht besser, eine Kirche auf dem Landgut zu bauen und einen Priester in Dienst zu nehmen?... Gebt mir nicht zur Antwort: 'In der Nähe ist schon eine Kirche, bei den Nachbarn. Mir kostet zu viel und bringt nichts ein'. Wenn Ihr Geld an die Armen geben wollt, gebt es lieber dafür aus. Beahlt die Kosten für einen Priester und einen Diakon.... Das wird Euch einen guten Namen verschaffen. Was für Vorteile werdet Ihr noch davon haben? Man wird Euch loben, und Gott wird Eure Erstlingsopfer gnädig annehmen. Es ist auch gut um das Landvolk ruhig zu halten. Man wird Respekt haben vor dem Priester. Die Sicherheit auf dem Landgut wird grösser werden. ... Denkt nicht nur daran, wieviel Geld angelegt werden muss. Denkt auch daran, was es einbringen wird. Sie bearbeiten das Land. Ihr bearbeitet ihre Seelen. ... Bäder und Wirtshäuser habt Ihr eingerichtet. Das macht die Bauern nur erpicht auf Luxus und sinnlichen Genuss. ... Wieviel besser wäre es, wenn es eine Kirche gäbe, mit allem, was dazu gehört. Das wäre wahrlich eine gute Befestigung. Das würde die Sicherheit des Landes erhöhen. ... Wenn es jetzt auf Euerm Landgut ruhig ist auch ohne eine

⁵⁴ Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia in Acta Apostolorum* 18.4-5, in J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* 60, S. 146-148.

Kirche, dann kommt das dadurch, dass nicht gearbeitet wird. Aber wenn es auf Euerm Landgut eine Kirche gibt, dann wird es dem Paradiese gleichen. Kein Geschrei, kein Aufruhr, kein Hass und keine Feindschaft, keine Spaltung in Parteien. Alle Menschen sind Freunde. So findet Ihr selbst die nötige Ruhe, um Euch der Philosophie zu widmen. Der Priester sorgt dafür, denn er ist wachsam über alle und hält sie zu einer regelmässigen Lebensweise an».

Für einen aufgeklärten, nicht religiösen Menschen, der in der modernen Zeit lebt, ziemt es sich nicht, mit Geringschätzung auf eine Religion herabzusehen, die in Notzeiten zwar oft als Ablenkungsmittel gebraucht worden ist, aber andererseits den Menschen eine Zukunftshoffnung geboten hat, die es möglich machte, das Leben zu ertragen. Das *Magnificat* mag als Teil des Ritus zur automatisch verwendeten Formel geworden sein, inhaltlich hat der Lobgesang der Maria den hellen Klang des Jubelrufes nicht verloren, der vom untersten Grund der Pyramide, *de profundis*, zum Himmel aufsteigt, um die Macht und Barmherzigkeit des Herrn zu preisen⁵⁵:

«Er übet Gewalt mit seinem Arm und zerstreuet, die hoffärtig sind in ihres Herzens Sinn.

Er stösst die Gewaltigen vom Stuhl und erhebt die Niedrigen.

Die Hungrigen füllet er mit Gütern und lässt die Reichen leer.»

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo:

dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.

Deposuit potentes de sede,

et exaltavit humiles.

Esurientes implevit bonis

et divites dimisit inanes.

Die christliche Kunst des späten Altertums hat eine reiche Ikonographie hervorgebracht. Eins der eindruckvollsten Symbole ist zweifellos die Hetoimasia, der leere Thron, der bereitsteht für die Wiederkunft Christi. Heidegger sagt über das Wesen der Dichtung:

«Das Wesen der Dichtung gehört in eine bestimmte Zeit. Aber nicht so, dass es sich dieser Zeit als einer schon bestehenden nur gemäss machte». Die Zeit, in welche das Wesen der Dichtung gehört, ist «die Zeit der entflohenen Götter und des kommenden Gottes. Das ist die dürftige Zeit, weil sie in einem gedoppelten Mangel und Nicht steht: im Nichtmehr der entflohenen Götter und im Nochnicht des Kommenden»⁵⁶. Im

⁵⁵ Lukas 1.46-55.

⁵⁶ M. HEIDEGGER, *Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung*, in *Gesamtausgabe I 4*, Frankfurt a.M. 1981, S. 47.

Licht dieses Gedankes gesehen ist die Spätantike doch eine Übergangszeit. Aber sind nicht alle Zeiten eigentlich Übergangszeiten? Der Thron ist immer noch leer.

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LA RÉORDINATION DU CLERGÉ MÉLITIEN IMPOSÉE PAR LE CONCILE DE NICÉE

Dans sa synodale à l'Église d'Alexandrie,¹ le Concile de Nicée stipule que les clercs établis par Mélitios de Lycopolis² seront intégrés à l'Église catholique «après avoir été confirmés par une imposition des mains plus mystique» (μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας),³ nécessaire pour conserver «leur dignité et leur fonction».⁴

L'embarras qu'on a toujours éprouvé à interpréter ce passage, a été pertinemment formulé par E. Amann dans son article sur les réordinations.⁵ Beaucoup d'historiens ne s'y arrêtent pas et se contentent d'une traduction plus ou moins littérale ou d'une paraphrase.⁶ Il semble toutefois que la majorité comprend le terme χειροτονία comme 'ordina-

¹ H.G. OPITZ, *Athanasius Werke* III 1. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites* 318-328, Berlin-Leipzig 1934, p. 47-51, n° 23.

² Sur Mélitios et le schisme mélitien, voir la littérature citée dans H. HAUBEN, *On the Melitians in P. London VI (P. Jews) 1914: The Problem of Papas Heraiscus*, in *Proc. of the XVI Int. Congress of Papyrology (American Studies in Papyrology, 23)*, Chico 1981, p. 447-456. On consultera en outre: L.W. BARNARD, *Some Notes on the Meletian Schism in Egypt*, in Elizabeth A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica* XII, 1 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 115), Berlin 1975, p. 339-405; C.W. GRIGGS, *The History of Christianity in Egypt to 451 A.D.*, diss. Berkeley 1979, p. 152-204, *passim*; Ewa WIPSZYCKA, *La chiesa nell'Egitto del IV secolo: le strutture ecclesiastiche*, in *Les transformations dans la société chrétienne au IV^e siècle (Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 6)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1983, p. 182-201, *passim*; G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *El cisma meleciano en la Iglesia egipcia*, in *Gerión* 2 (1984), p. 155-180; ID., *La elección episcopal de Atanasio de Alejandria según Filostorgio*, in *Gerión* 3 (1985), p. 211-229.

³ Pour la portée de ce dernier mot, voir A. SCHEBLER, *Die Reordinationen in der 'altkatholischen' Kirche (Kanonistische Studien und Texte, 10)*, Bonn 1936, p. 52-53 n. 43.

⁴ Ἐχειν τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργεῖν: Annik MARTIN (voir n. 11), p. 34; cf. H.I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, London 1924, p. 39-40; S.L. GREENSLADE, *Schism in the Early Church*, London 1964 (= 1953), p. 151-152.

⁵ E. AMANN, art. *Réordinations*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XIII 2, Paris 1937, col. 2385-2431, spéc. 2391-2392.

⁶ Quelques exemples: A.C. ZENOS, *The Ecclesial History of Socrates Scholasticus*, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series*, Vol. II: *Socrates, Sozomenos*, ca. 1890 (= Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979), p. 12: «after having been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination»; K. MÜLLER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Verfassung der alten Kirche (Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1922, n° 3)*, Berlin 1922, p. 28: «eine neue rechtmässige und Wirksame Weihe»; H.I. BELL, p. 39: «those ordained by him should be re-ordained»; E. AMANN, art. *Mèlece*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* X, Paris 1928, col. 531-536, spéc. 534: «une imposition des mains plus mystique» (mais cf. *supra* et n. 5); G. BARDY, in A. FLICHE - V. MARTIN, *Histoire de l'Église*

tion',⁷ ce qui est également le cas pour la plupart de ceux qui ont approfondi le problème.⁸ Certains savants n'y voient toutefois qu'une bénédiction, une confirmation ou un simple geste de réconciliation.⁹ Cette dernière thèse, qui ne peut en aucun cas être rejetée d'avance,¹⁰ fut brillamment défendue par Annik Martin, qui compte parmi les meilleurs spécialistes contemporains du schisme mélitien,¹¹ et adoptée par Ewa Wipszycka.¹²

Alors que E. Amann suggérait e.a. de «ne pas trop insister sur le

depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours III, Paris 1950, p. 88: «une nouvelle imposition des mains, plus mystique»; S.L. GREENSLADE, p. 151 n. 16: «confirmed by a more mystical election» (voir *infra*, n. 17); W. TELFER, *Meletius of Lycopolis and Episcopal Succession in Egypt*, in *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955), p. 227-237, spéc. 233: «to 'be confirmed by a more mystic consecration'»; L.W. BARNARD, *Athanasius and the Meletian Schism in Egypt*, in *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 181-189, spéc. 183: «after having been confirmed by a more mystical ordination»; K.M. GIRARDET, *Kaisergericht und Bischofsgericht (Antiquitas, Reihe I, Band 21)*, Bonn 1975, p. 53: «nach erneuter Handauflegung durch den Bischof von Alexandrien»; C.W. GRIGGS, p. 156: «second ordination»; G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Cisma meleciano*, p. 165: «una consagración 'más mística'»; «esta nueva ordenación».

⁷ C'est une signification courante, mais non la seule: voir G.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 1522-1523, s.v. χειροτονέω Aβ et χειροτονία B2; cf. E.W. KEMP, *Bishops and Presbyters at Alexandria*, in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1955), p. 125-142, spéc. 138: «χειροτονεῖν ... is ... an ambiguous word».

⁸ La thèse de la réordination a été explicitement soutenue (contre Saltet: voir n. 9) par A. SCHEBLER, p. 52-53: «So sehr man über den genauen Sinn dieser Worte im unklaren sein mag, eines steht fest: das Konzil ordnet eine neue Ordination an, die ordinatorische Handauflegung — nur diese kommt in Frage — muss wiederholt, durch eine kräftigere ersetzt werden». Voir aussi B.J. KIDD, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461* II, Oxford 1922, p. 41-42.

⁹ On trouve cette opinion, amplement documentée, chez L. SALTET, *Les réordinations. Étude sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, Paris 1907, p. 35-39, spéc. 38-39: «Il est sûr que le concile ne considèrerait pas comme nulles les ordinations faites par Mélèce ... Mais ... on jugea une 'confirmation' nécessaire. Sous quelle forme eut-elle lieu? Par une imposition des mains de l'évêque. Le mot χειροτονία s'entend d'ordinaire de l'ordination. Mais on lui donnera difficilement ce sens, dans le cas présent. Cette cérémonie de réconciliation n'en est pas moins étrange». Voir aussi H. LECLERCQ, dans C.J. HEFELE, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux* I 1, Paris 1907, p. 500 n. 3 (citant et approuvant Tillemont). Cf. pp. 502 («revalidation»), 582 (pas de réordination), 583-584 n. 4, *in fine* (mais un peu plus haut il est quand même question d'une «ordination plus sainte»).

¹⁰ Voir surtout P. GALTIER, art. *Imposition des mains*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* VII 2, Paris 1930, col. 1302-1425, spéc. 1329 et 1397-1408. Voir aussi les observations de Schebler (p. 50-51) et de Greenslade (p. 150-151 et n. 15).

¹¹ Annik MARTIN, *Athanase et les Mélitiens (325-335)*, in Ch. KANNENGIESSER (éd.), *Politique et théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1974, p. 31-61, spéc. 33-36: «nous serions tentés, pour notre part, de voir dans ce geste, au-delà du signe de réconciliation, la nécessité pour chaque évêque mélitien désireux de rentrer dans l'Église, de se reconnaître lié à l'unique chef de l'Église d'Égypte, ...».

¹² Ewa WIPSYCKA, p. 189 n. 15.

comparatif», ¹³ je crois que c'est précisément là qu'il faut chercher la clé de la solution. En effet, le comparatif renvoie à une 'imposition des mains' antérieure, qui, logiquement, doit avoir été de la même nature que la présente. Or, la première imposition des mains n'ayant aucun sens en tant que pure bénédiction ou geste de réconciliation, il s'ensuit qu'également dans le second rite il s'agit essentiellement d'une ordination, ¹⁴ d'autant plus que cette fois-ci le rite était qualitativement supérieur au premier. Évidemment, rien n'empêche de voir dans cette seconde ordination, mais alors de façon purement subsidiaire, un signe de réconciliation et d'allégeance au pape d'Alexandrie. ¹⁵

Si le sens de l'adjectif *μυστικός* est en soi assez obscur, il semble toutefois que, combiné avec la notion 'ordination', la traduction 'sacramental' soit la plus plausible. ¹⁶

À notre avis, il faut donc comprendre «l'imposition des mains plus mystique» comme une «ordination plus sacramentelle», ¹⁷ ce qui revient à une réordination. Selon la synodale, elle devait se faire lors de la réception dans l'Église catholique. Comme l'écrit Annik Martin, ¹⁸ il n'est nullement question de réordination au moment où l'évêque mélitien succède à son homologue catholique.

La lettre ne parle que des clercs 'établis' — et sans doute entend elle par là 'ordonnés' ¹⁹ — par Mélitios. On peut se demander avec Annik

¹³ E. AMANN, art. *Réordinations*, col. 2391.

¹⁴ Voir d'ailleurs L. SALTET, p. 42, dans un contexte analogue: «Comment compléter leur ordination (c.-à-d. celle des hérétiques)? On a hésité quelque temps... Puis, en l'absence de tout rite propre à cette fin, on s'est décidé à réitérer l'imposition des mains de l'ordination: c'était réitérer l'ordination elle-même. Au cours de l'histoire de l'Église, mainte tentative pour compléter ou guérir une ordination faite *extra Ecclesiam* a abouti, pour ce motif, à de vraies réordinations». Dans cet ordre d'idées, nous ne voyons pas pourquoi l'auteur ne veut pas voir dans la *μυστικώτερα χειροτονία* des Méliitiens une réelle ordination (voir n. 9 et 28).

¹⁵ Cf. p. ex. A. SCHEBLER, p. 49, sur la réordination du clergé novatien: «ihre 'Weihe' muss wiederholt werden. Dass hiermit gleichzeitig ein 'rekonziliatorischer Ritus' gegeben ist, braucht nicht gesagt zu werden». Une considération analogue pourrait être formulée pour les Méliitiens. L'important c'est que le rite constituait essentiellement une ordination.

¹⁶ Voir G.W. LAMPE, p. 891-894, s.v. *μυστήριον* F («sacrament») et *μυστικός* B (spéc. 5).

¹⁷ C'est ce qu'a déjà entrevu S.L. GREENSLADE, p. 151 et n. 16: «they were to be ordained *μυστικώτερα χειροτονία βεβαιωθέντας*: Literally, 'confirmed by a more mystical election'; but *μυστικώτερα* may mean 'more sacramental', and *χειροτονία* here certainly means ordination, as often. It may be that the Church was not quite certain about the status of Melitian orders. Compare modern discussions of conditional and supplementary ordinations».

¹⁸ P. 36.

¹⁹ C.J. HEFELE - H. LECLERCQ, p. 500; L. SALTET, p. 38; H.I. BELL, p. 39; A. SCHEBLER, p. 52; E. AMANN, art. *Réordinations*, col. 2391; G. BARDY, p. 88; S.L. GREENSLADE, p. 151;

Martin²⁰ ce qui arriva aux évêques encore ordonnés par Pierre ou Alexandre, mais passés par la suite au camp de Mélitios.²¹ Leur ordination initiale ayant été pleinement sacramentelle aux yeux des catholiques, il semble peu probable qu'ils aient été soumis à une réordination,²² pas plus d'ailleurs que Mélitios lui-même, mais il est tout à fait logique, par contre, que les autres dispositions concernant la réintégration du clergé mélitien valaient également pour eux.

À la suite des Pères eux-mêmes,²³ on a souvent souligné, malgré la position d'infériorité dans laquelle le clergé mélitien se voyait manœuvré, la bienveillance du Concile envers Mélitios et les siens,²⁴ bienveillance remarquable, mais compréhensible si l'on tient compte du fait que ces traditionalistes et puritains²⁵ n'avaient rompu avec la hiérarchie catholique que 'par excès de zèle' (du moins en apparence) et qu'ils n'avaient jamais quitté (jusque là) la voie de plus en plus étroite de l'orthodoxie.²⁶ Cela leur vaudrait d'ailleurs plus tard un brin de sympathie de la part de ce vaillant chasseur d'hérétiques que fut Épiphanios de Salamine.²⁷

Mais quant à 'l'ordination plus sacramentelle', nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que les Pères de Nicée se sont quelque peu mépris, ce qui d'ailleurs, à long terme, n'est pas resté sans conséquences.²⁸

L'usage du comparatif démontre que les catholiques attribuaient une certaine validité aux ordinations mélitiennes,²⁹ mais que d'autre part ils

K.M. GIRARDET, p. 53; K. BAUS - E. EWIG, in H. JEDIN (éd.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* II 1, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1979, p. 28; G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Cisma meleciano*, p. 164-165.

²⁰ P. 35.

²¹ Cf., p. ex., Ewa WIPSZYCKA, p. 189 et n. 14.

²² Cf. Annik MARTIN, p. 35.

²³ Φιλανθρωπότερον κινηθείσης τῆς συνόδου (voir n. 1), concernant la personne de Mélitios.

²⁴ Ainsi L. DUCHESNE, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, II⁵, Paris 1911, p. 148; B.J. KIDD, p. 41; E. AMANN, art. *Mèlece*, col. 534; A. SCHEBLER, p. 52; G. BARDY, p. 88; S.L. GREENSLADE, p. 152; K.M. GIRARDET, p. 53 (plus nuancé); W.H.C. FREND, *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries*, London 1976, p. 30; Id., *The Rise of Christianity*, London 1984, p. 500; G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Cisma meleciano*, p. 165; *Elección episcopal*, p. 219.

²⁵ Pour la portée de ces caractéristiques, voir surtout F.H. KETTLER, *Der melitianische Streit in Aegypten*, in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 35 (1936), p. 155-193, *passim*.

²⁶ Voir, p. ex., G. FERNÁNDEZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Cisma meleciano*, p. 164.

²⁷ Panarion 68, *passim*.

²⁸ Voir E. AMANN, art. *Réordinations*, col. 2392; A. SCHEBLER, p. 53. Cf. L. SALTET, p. 42 (voir n. 14).

²⁹ Cf. C.J. HEFELE - H. LECLERCQ, p. 500 n. 3. Mais affirmer sans plus qu'elles étaient reconnues par le Concile comme valides, voilà qui va trop loin: ainsi, à tort, T.D. BARNES,

les considéraient comme moins sacramentelles, c.-à-d. en quelque sorte déficientes.³⁰ Or, une telle prise de position, qui manque de clarté et fait preuve d'hésitation³¹ — et que les Pères ont peut-être adoptée pour ne pas mettre les méliitiens sur le même pied que les novatiens³² — est intenable au point de vue théorique et maladroite au point de vue pratique.

Un sacrement, et *a fortiori* une ordination, est valide ou ne l'est pas. Y vouloir attribuer une qualité intermédiaire est un non-sens juridique et théologique.³³ Comment définir le degré exact de sa validité ou de celle des sacrements conférés par les ministres en cause? C'est créer des ambiguïtés superflues.

Faire preuve d'incertitude et de doute sur des questions fondamentales, voilà qui manque de psychologie et de sens politique. En plus, la formule était de nature à offenser — inutilement — les sentiments religieux (et non simplement ecclésiaux) des dissidents qu'on voulait regagner à la cause de l'Église catholique.

Sans aucun doute, l'équivoque a contribué à l'échec de la réconciliation.³⁴

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Constantine and Eusebius, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1981, p. 217; W. H. C. FRED, *Rise*, p. 500. Nous ne pouvons nous rallier à l'opinion de W. TELFER, p. 232-233, selon lequel les ordinations méliitiennes, bien que suffisamment valides, souffraient du fait qu'elles n'avaient pas été effectuées «by the imposition of many episcopal hands» comme le prescrivait le Concile: dans ce cas les évêques catholiques auraient également dû être soumis à une imposition des mains «plus mystique».

Mentionnons dans ce contexte la remarque judicieuse de Ewa WIPSYCKA (p. 191): «le numerose ordinazioni fatte da Melezio (évidemment avant le Concile et dans son propre milieu) mostrano chiaramente che le comunità cristiane d'Egitto erano ancora pronte a riconoscere la validità di ordinazioni episcopali compiute da uno che non era il patriarca».

³⁰ S. L. GREENSLADE, p. 152; L. W. BARNARD, *Athanasius*, p. 183. Cf. E. AMANN, art. *Réordinations*, col. 2392.

³¹ Cf. S. L. GREENSLADE, p. 151 n. 16 (voir *supra*, n. 17).

³² Cf. Annik MARTIN, p. 35.

³³ Voir les réserves formulées par L. SALTET, p. 39: «cette cérémonie suppose l'idée d'un complément ajouté à un sacrement qui aurait dû être regardé comme valide et complet ...; de telles préoccupations sont dangereuses».

³⁴ Mes sincères remerciements vont à Monsieur R. VANVOORDEN, qui a bien voulu relire mon texte français.

HOW TO DESCRIBE VIOLENCE IN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Reflections of the Ancient Greek Historians
and their Ancient Critics *

Ancient historiography is interested above all in 'movement' (κίνησις). Its main concern is to give an account not so much of fixed values than of events and changing conditions. Hence a greater interest in war than in peace, in civil strife than in political equilibrium, in famine or pestilence than in a healthy economy.

The forms of κίνησις that hold the most attraction for the ancient historians appear to be various expressions of violence. In most works an account of one or more *wars* forms the main subject. Thus Herodotus displays his interest in so many aspects of life; yet half of his *Historiae* is devoted to an account of the Persian Wars, the other half in large measure to introducing it¹. Thucydides concentrates almost exclusively on what he felt was the greatest war in Greek history (κίνησις... μεγίστη, I.1.1-2)². Both historians, Thucydides even more than Herodotus,

* A preliminary version of this article was drafted as a discussion paper for a seminar on «Antike Geschichtstheorie» at the University of Freiburg i.Br. under the supervision of Prof. Dr. J. Malitz, to whom I am indebted for his numerous useful comments. I further wish to thank the members of the Classics Department at Bristol University, where I was able to present this theme at the invitation of Th. Wiedemann. I also had the opportunity to discuss several points of interest with Prof. Dr. H. Verdin and Dr. G. Schepens. Finally, a word of thanks to P. Van Dessel for his English translation.

¹ For that matter, the Persian Wars are already announced as a major theme in the prooemium: τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι (I.1.1): see Hannelore BARTH, *Zur Bewertung und Auswahl des Stoffes durch Herodot* (*Die Begriffe* θῶμα, θωμάζω, θωμάσιος und θωμαστός), *Klio* 50 (1968), p. 93-110 and the literature cited there (p. 93, n. 1). For a recent general survey of all the important aspects of Herodotus' work, see H. STRASBURGER, *Herodot als Geschichtsforscher*, in *Herodot. Geschichten und Geschichte II* (übersetzt von W. MARG, hrsg. von Gisela STRASBURGER), Zürich-München 1983, p. 383-465, and K. H. WATERS, *Herodotos the Historian. His Problems, Methods and Originality*, London-Sydney 1985.

² Cf. H. STRASBURGER, *Die Entdeckung der politischen Geschichte durch Thukydides*, *Saeculum* 5 (1954), p. 395-428 (reprinted with slight modifications in *Thukydides*, hrsg. von H. HERTER [*Wege der Forschung*, 98], Darmstadt 1968, p. 412-476); ID., *Die Wesensbestimmung der Geschichte durch die antike Geschichtsschreibung* (Sitzungsber. wiss. Ges. Frankfurt a.M., 5, 1966/3), Wiesbaden 1966, p. 57-67; ID., *Der Geschichtsbegriff des Thukydides*, in *Studien zur Alten Geschichte II* (hrsg. von W. SCHMITTHENNER - Renate ZOEPFEL), Hildesheim - New York 1982, p. 777-800; H. P. STAHL, *Thukydides. Die Stellung des Menschen im geschichtlichen Prozeß* (*Zetemata*, 40), München 1966. The significance of the greatness of the war and its attendant misery as a stimulus for Thucydides to embark

thus find the memorable events they want to preserve for posterity in a great war. In this they are clearly within the epic tradition, especially as embodied by Homer³. In the wake of Thucydides the entire *historia perpetua* of Greeks and Romans becomes in essence «Kriegsgeschichte»⁴.

Besides war, ancient historiography accords a major role to *political violence*. Herodotus grants it due attention in his historical surveys of the Greek cities and in his history of the Oriental states, and Thucydides devotes to στάσεις some of his most moving descriptions as well as a penetrating theoretical analysis⁵. Herein, too, both were followed by later historians⁶.

upon his history is underscored by J. MALITZ, *Thukydides' Weg zur Geschichtsschreibung*, *Historia* 31 (1982), p. 257-289.

An extensive bibliography on Thucydides is provided by C. SCHNEIDER, *Information und Absicht bei Thukydides. Untersuchungen zur Motivation des Handelns (Hypomnemata, 41)*, Göttingen 1974, p. 173-220. Also interesting for the present paper's theme is P. R. POUNCY, *The Necessities of War. A Study of Thucydides' Pessimism*, New York 1980.

³ Cf. H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 63: «Von Homer kommt es also zu Thukydides, daß ein ἔργον: ein 'Werk' schlechthin, welches durch seine 'Redenswürdigkeit' seinen Historiker fordert, re ipsa nur ein großer Krieg (theoretisch ausgedrückt: eine κίνησις) sein kann. Auch Herodot steht ja in dieser Denktradition; aber für ihn ist es eben nur noch die Hälfte der Sache». More elaborately Id., *Homer und die Geschichtsschreibung* (SHAW, 1972.1), Heidelberg 1972, p. 4-44, esp. p. 11-14 and 33-34. He furthermore emphasizes convincingly that it is precisely the concomitant suffering that lends wars their «Redenswürdigkeit» (in Homer ἀλγέα at the beginning of both Iliad and Odyssey, in Thucydides παθήματα in 123): «Hier haben wir die eigentliche Legitimation der überragenden historiographischen Rolle der Kriegsgeschichte im Altertum, in der auch — soweit wir noch den erhaltenen Geschichtswerken urteilen können — episch-heroisches Kolorit als besonders sachadäquater Ausdruck galt». Compare, on the other hand, E. HAVELOCK, *War as a Way of Life in Classical Culture*, in *Valeurs antiques et temps modernes. Classical Values and the Modern World* (ed. E. GAREAU), Ottawa 1972, p. 19-78: Herodotus and Thucydides, after the example of the epos, opt for the treatment of war as an important happening; in his view war is for both authors also a positively appraised «principle of human energy».

⁴ For this tendency see the already cited studies by H. STRASBURGER (n. 3 above) and further A. MOMIGLIANO, *Tradition and the Classical Historian, History and Theory* 11 (1972), p. 279-293; L. CANFORA, *Totalità e selezione nella storiografia classica*, Bari 1972, esp. p. 71-86 (VII. «La prima selezione: 'axiōloga'»); C. W. FÖRNARA, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome (Eidos. Studies in Classical Kinds)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1983, p. 91-98.

⁵ For Herodotus see e.g. I 59-64 and V 62-65 (Pisistratus), III 67-79 (the coup of the seven Persians against the magi). Well-known is Thucydides' account of the civil war in Corcyra (III 70-85 and IV 46-48) with the general considerations (III 82-84); further, e.g. I 126 (the coup of Cylon), IV 74 (civil war in Megara), V 82 (civil war in Argos). In his outline of the war in the introduction (I 23), for that matter, he explicitly mentions civil war and its attendant misery.

⁶ See e.g. Xen., *Hell.* II 4 (civil strife in Athens 404-403 B.C.) and numerous other passages. Prooemia often contain references to civil unrest in the period under discussion

Finally, several *other forms* of violence are dealt with: crime, punishment and execution (what may be called legalized violence), vengeance... Of the two great historians at the outset of the ancient tradition, Herodotus merits special mention here, since Thucydides, due to his severe criteria of selection, gave such material less attention⁷.

An excellent illustration of the kinds of violence which the ancient historian regarded as 'good material' for his work is the chapter in which Tacitus defines the theme of his *Historiae*:

opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox procliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa
etiam pace sacrum (*Hist.* I 2).

By way of example he cites the killing of four emperors, civil wars, foreign campaigns, arsons, banishments, assassinations, corruption...⁸.

The central place of violence in ancient historiography should be quite apparent from this brief survey. A study of Greek historians' treatment of such material and of their attitude toward violence can accordingly lead to a better understanding of ancient historiography in general⁹. The present paper should be regarded as a contribution to this study, and it is my intention to bring together here those texts in which Greek historians themselves deal 'theoretically' with the description of violent topics in their work or in which ancient literary critics discuss violent scenes in works of history.

The available evidence is highly fragmentary. There is no systematic treatise that discusses the problem at length. Most statements are brief remarks, made in passing, in very divergent contexts. Still, they shed light on a number of aspects deemed important in the description of violence by the ancient historian and critic. Even if the main question of the context is quite another matter, it remains interesting to see in which

(e.g. Herodian I 1.4); cf. Appian's *Bella civilia* in addition to the several books devoted to 'foreign' wars.

⁷ Herodotus deals with more than 80 such instances: the best known are no doubt the assassination of Polycrates (III 120-128) and the story of Masistes (IX 108-113). In Thucydides it is more a matter of isolated mentions (e.g. I 110, I 134, IV 107, V 50, VI 57). In later historiography, too, attention regularly goes out to such events; the most conspicuous example is of course Sallust, with his monograph on the Catiline conspiracy (*Cat.* 4.4: *id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate*).

⁸ Cf. the commentary of H. HEUBNER, *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historien I*, Heidelberg 1963, p. 19-21.

⁹ For my doctoral dissertation at the K.U. Leuven I am working, under the supervision of Prof. H. Verdin, on a study of accounts of acts of war, the main focus being the work of Herodotus.

connection the treatment of battles, sieges, executions, etc., is thought about.

The texts assembled range from the 4th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., when several views are partially combined by Plutarch and Lucian. With the exception of a few rhetorical texts in Latin, which in fact also belong in the Greek rhetorical tradition, all are Greek texts. There are three types: 1. Pronouncements of a general nature by the historians, in prooemia or in digressions. 2. Discussion and criticism elicited by the method of, or by the elaboration of a passage by, another historian. 3. Pronouncements on historians in works of literary criticism or on rhetoric. Illustrations of the historians' method in practice will be dealt with in passing. Although the texts have been arranged, for the sake of clarity, according to the point of view they represent, and also in a more or less chronological order, it should be pointed out beforehand that we are not dealing with 'schools' or trends that succeeded one another in Greek historiography, but with a variety of approaches that existed side by side in the same period and sometimes even within a single work.

To my knowledge the problem as posed here has not yet been studied comprehensively. We do have a host of studies of individual authors or of ancient historiography in general that also devote some attention to this theme¹⁰.

*
* *

The oldest testimonia concerning the relating of violence are at once problematical. Indeed, they are vague indications that have to be combined rather than a clearly formulated position. But to simply disregard the viewpoint expounded therein would produce a distorted picture.

When we bring together several texts of Ephorus¹¹ and of other

¹⁰ A great aid in the collecting of the material and in its interpretation were P. SCHELLER, *De hellenistica historiae conscribendae arte*, diss. Leipzig 1911; G. AVENARIUS, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung*, Meisenheim/Glan 1956; H. HOMER, *Lukian. Wie man Geschichte schreiben soll*, München 1965.

¹¹ *FGrHist* 70. A rather negative verdict on Ephorus is given by most older studies: E. SCHWARTZ, art. *Ephoros*, in *RE* VI (1907), col. 1-16; R. LAQUEUR, *Ephoros*, *Hermes* 46 (1911), p. 161-206 and 321-354; F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* IIC, Berlin 1926, p. 22-35; G. L. BARBER, *The Historian Ephorus*, Cambridge 1935. See also H. PETER, *Wahrheit und Kunst*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, p. 144-183 (V. «Die Geschichtsschreibung der Schüler des Isokrates»). A more balanced discussion is provided by J. B. BURY, *The Ancient Greek*

writers on Ephorus, it appears that the circles in which moralizing historiography originated also had their own views of describing acts of violence: detailed accounting of violence appears to be avoided on ethical grounds.

The most straight forward pronouncement is a fragment of Ephorus, preserved by Strabo. Actually this statement is beyond the scope of our theme, since Ephorus is talking about the savage customs of the Scyths and not about a κίνησις or an ἔργον μέγα. But his thesis is couched in such general terms that it nevertheless can serve as a point of departure for a discussion of other texts, in which a similar attitude is revealed, but then with regard to acts of war.

The statement is linked to Ephorus' discussion of the Scyths in the 4th book of his *Histories*. After an account of the earliest Greek history (from the return of the Heraclidae), he offers, in books IV and V, a geographical survey of the world¹². He distinguishes two kinds of Scyths: some are so barbaric that they engage in cannibalism, while others will eat no living being. Ephorus' ensuing remark is quoted literally by Strabo:

Now the other writers, he says, tell about their savagery, because they know that the terrible and the marvellous are startling, but one should tell the opposite facts and make them patterns of conduct, and he himself, therefore, will tell only about those who follow «most just» habits (FGrHist 70 F 42 = Strabo VII 3.9 — transl. after H. L. Jones)¹³.

The rest of VII 3.9 gives an idea of how Ephorus then worked out his account. Of interest to us is the fact that he consciously omits the savage habits of the Scyths — well-known to us from Herodotus' 4th book — in order to concentrate on what can yield παραδείγματα¹⁴.

Historians, London 1909 (= New York 1958), p. 162-165. In recent scholarship Ephorus is more positively appraised: T. S. BROWN, *The Greek Historians*, Lexington-Toronto-London 1973, p. 107-115, and especially the very important contribution of G. SCHEPENS, *Historiographical Problems in Ephorus*, in *Historiographia antiqua. Commentationes ... W. Peremans*, Leuven 1977, p. 95-118.

¹² For the economy of the work see F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* IIC, p. 26-29; T. S. BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 110-111; G. SCHEPENS, *art. cit.* (n. 11), p. 115-116 with literature in n. 103.

¹³ The Greek text reads: δεῖν (mss. δεινόν) δὲ τάναντία καὶ λέγειν καὶ παραδείγματα ποιῆσθαι ... H. L. JONES, *The Geography of Strabo* III (*Loeb Classical Library*), p. 205, translates, in my opinion wrongly: «one should tell the opposite facts too and make them ...» (Unless otherwise noted, all translations quoted in this paper have been borrowed from the *Loeb Classical Library*).

¹⁴ E. LÉVY, *Les origines du mirage Scythe*, *Ktema* 6 (1981), p. 57-68, esp. p. 66-67, sees in this attitude of Ephorus the manifestation of a broader movement in the 4th century, which idealizes, moralizes. G. AVENARIUS, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 18-19, links this text with passages

Several remarks on Ephorus suggest that he did not confine this principle to cruel customs alone. Duris of Samos (4th-3rd century B.C.) accuses both Ephorus and Theopompus of not telling the whole truth and of only devoting attention to style (*FGrHist* 76 F 1). Since no details are given, this highly generalized complaint does not bring us much further¹⁵. Polybius dwells rather extensively on Ephorus' way of describing battles (XII 25e-f) and ranks him, with Theopompus and Timaeus, among the «armchair historians», whose works have no basis in experience and are therefore not expressive (οὐτ' ἐμπείρως οὐτ' ἐφαντικῶς, XII 25g.2). In his analysis of concrete examples Polybius does emphasize a good account of an encounter's strategic course and, in addition, draws a distinction between land and sea battles — he gives Ephorus more credit in the latter category. Still, as is evident from the sequel, he is also thinking of the liveliness of the story. (We will return to this text when we come to Polybius' own practice¹⁶). As far as Ephorus is concerned he in any event shows that his battle accounts were on the vague side and did not strike Polybius as true-to-life. A similar verdict is reached by Plutarch, but then only with regard to the speeches that Ephorus (and Theopompus and Anaximenes) inserted prior to battle accounts. He characterizes them as follows with a verse from Euripides' *Autolycus*:

οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας

None talks so foolishly when near the steel (Plut., *Mor.* 803B)¹⁷.

in which Ephorus reacts against poetry and music («Dichtertrug» – «Sinnestrug» – «Erschütterung der Leser»). But C. W. FORNARA, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 109-112, interprets the final part of the text differently: in his view Ephorus is not talking about the Scyths as a possible παράδειγμα (in the sense of an example to be followed), but means only that one must discuss the positive points and give examples thereof; see, however, the critique of F. W. WALBANK, *JHS* 105 (1985), p. 211.

¹⁵ What this text teaches us about Duris and dramatizing historiography is dealt with below, p. 219-220.

¹⁶ See below, p. 227-229.

¹⁷ A further indication of Ephorus' reticence is perhaps Plutarch's remark about Duris in *Per.* 28. Duris' account of Athenian atrocities after the taking of Samos is rejected with the comment that neither Thucydides nor Ephorus nor Aristotle mention such deeds. As to Thucydides and Aristotle Plutarch's argumentation is rather weak because their works were not intended to relate these events in a detailed way. For Ephorus, too, other explanations can be given for the absence of the details: R. MEIGGS, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 191-192, thinks of Ephorus' pro-Athenian bias. Another possibility is his dislike of relating atrocities; since Ephorus' alleged pro-Athenian bias must be relativized, the latter explanation would seem preferable. On Plut., *Per.* 28 see further below, p. 244-245.

Taken by themselves, these texts are too general to yield any indications for our problem. Still, they allow us to situate Ephorus' pronouncement on the Scyths in a wider perspective and, furthermore, to proceed to other statements that belong to the same flow of thought.

The approach revealed by each of these texts links up perfectly with Isocrates' view of the telling of battles, albeit he does not speak explicitly of violence. Though the information the sources provide on Ephorus' (and Theopompus') study with Isocrates does not suffice to demonstrate a master-pupil relationship¹⁸, it is indisputable that their views must have undergone his influence and that we may see in the various statements the issue of a single overall approach¹⁹.

In his oration *Ad Nicoclem*, Isocrates holds that he who wants to be successful with the public need not write something useful, but rather nice stories (τοὺς μυθωδεστάτους τῶν λόγων); for such things are agreeable to the ear, just as games and contests are pleasing to the eye. Indeed, games and war, according to Isocrates, were also the topics of Homer and the tragic poets, who thus combined the attractions of eye and ear. He himself, however, will not do likewise (Isocr. II 48-49).

In his account of the battle of Salamis in his *Panegyricus* — a lengthy survey of the deeds of the Athenians — he expressly points out that it is preferable not to dwell on the din of battle or similar details:

Now the clamours that arouse during the action, and the shoutings and the cheers — things which are common to all those who fight on ships — I see no reason why I should take time to describe ... (Isocr. IV 97 — transl. G. Norbin).

In much the same words he repeats the same idea in *Euagoras* 31²⁰.

¹⁸ See the testimonia in *FGrHist* 70 and 115, with the discussion of E. SCHWARTZ, art. *Ephoros*, in *RE* VI (1907), col. 1-16; F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* IIC, p. 22-25; T. S. BROWN, *o.c.* (n. 11) p. 108. Cf. however G. L. BARBER, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 1-4.

¹⁹ Ephorus regarded as pupil of Isocrates: F. BLASS, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* II. *Isokrates und Isaios*, Leipzig 1892², p. 427-441, esp. p. 427-428; G. L. BARBER, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 1-4 and 75-83; more recently also accepted by P. A. BRUNT, *Cicero and Historiography*, in ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. *Miscellanea ... E. Manni*, Roma 1980, p. 309-340, esp. p. 320-321 with n. 18. That we are dealing with a broader movement influenced not only by Isocrates but also by contemporary philosophy is emphasized by S. MAZZARINO, *Il pensiero storico classico* I, Bari 1966, p. 396-410; G. S. SHRIMPTON, *Greek Views of Reality and the Development of Rhetorical History*, in *Classical Contributions. Studies in honor of M. F. MacGregor*, Locust Valley (N.Y.) 1981, p. 135-143, esp. p. 138-139. Cf. D. FLACH, *Tacitus in der Tradition der antiken Geschichtsschreibung (Hypomnemata, 39)*, Göttingen 1973, p. 17-19, who lays more stress on the unity of Isocrates and Ephorus.

²⁰ A comparison with Lysias' treatment of the same subject in his *Epitaphios* (37-40)

The latter texts, of course, are speeches, not historical works. Yet they would seem to evidence that we are dealing with a more wide-ranging direction of thought, holding it inopportune to devote much attention to accounts of battles or other violent events. It is probably no coincidence that in the same circles — Isocrates, Ephorus, and perhaps Theopompus — «moralizing» historiography was born²¹. Viewed in the context of all the other passages, Ephorus' statement in F 42 also takes on meaning for our inquiry.

Historians after Ephorus profess no such radical rejection of violent detail. Presumably this is to be explained by the fact that the «rhetorical-moralizing» trend in historical writing, of which he was one of the more prominent representatives, was later combined with the tendency to dramatize, which had much success as a reaction to the lack of vividness in the rhetorical historians²².

What we do find are condemnations of exaggerated detail. Thus Polybius scorns circumstantial accounts when truth is thereby prejudiced or when the subject is of no historical relevance. (Polybius' own attitude will be discussed at length later)²³. In the 19th book of Diodorus' *Bibliothēke* there is also a remarkable text. First he offers a minute account of the slaughter of the oligarchs in Syracuse by Agathocles: street-fighting, escape attempts, etc. are evoked down to the last detail (XIX 6-8); he then continues with the statement not to describe what happens at night to the women, and comments:

We must keep our account of these events free from the artificially tragic tone that is habitual with historians, chiefly because of our pity for the victims, but also because no one of our readers has a desire to hear all the details when his own understanding can readily supply them (Diod. XIX 8.4 — transl. R. M. Geer).

shows that elsewhere such graphicness was indeed pursued. I discussed battle accounts in eulogies in a previous study, departing from Xenophon's *Agesilaus: Lofrede en oorlogsgeweld. De slag bij Coronea in Xenophons Agesilaus (2.6-16)*, *Handelingen van de Kon. Zuidned. Maatsch. voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 38 (1984), p. 69-80.

²¹ The same texts are also cited by D. FLACH, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 17-19, to characterize the trend against which the 'dramatizing' historians were reacting.

²² See N. ZEGERS, *Wesen und Ursprung der tragischen Geschichtsschreibung*, diss. Köln 1959, p. 79-80; D. FLACH, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 23-24. They point in particular to Polyb. XVI 18.2, where it appears from Polybius' criticism of Zenon of Rhodes that the latter exhibited traces of both tendencies. For that matter, Polybius' own theory in my view also integrates the positive aspects of both trends: see the discussion of Polybius, below p. 224-231.

²³ See below, p. 224-231.

In the light of the circumstantial picture that goes before one cannot regard this as an outright rejection of the relating of violence. But Diodorus does appear to have omitted as too drastic certain particulars he found in his source and thus inserted this observation. Interesting in the light of what is to follow is that Diodorus here may have been using the «tragic» historian Duris as his source²⁴.

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* * *

A number of Hellenistic writers — usually called the «tragic» historians — take a wholly different view of violent material. The focus on πάθος in their method obliges us to take a closer look at them.

These «tragic historians» were long regarded as a true school, under peripatetic influence, and competing with the «school of Isocrates». The application of Aristotle's directives for tragedy to historiography — possibly elaborated in theory by Theophrastus and first applied by his pupil Duris of Samos — would have formed, in this view, a basis for the pursuit of a more vivid and attractive historiography than the stylistically refined but in their eyes empty and moralizing approach of Isocrates' disciples (whose attitude toward violence has just been discussed)²⁵. Studies by F. Wehrli and F. W. Walbank, however, have

²⁴ For a recent discussion of Diodorus' sources in book XIX, see Françoise BIZIÈRE, *Diodore de Sicile. Bibliothèque historique, livre XIX (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris 1975, p. XIV-XIX (for Sicilian history she leaves the question open). An overall verdict on Diodorus XVIII-XX, with an extensive status quaestionis, is given by J. SEIBERT, *Das Zeitalter der Diadochen (Erträge der Forschung, 185)*, Darmstadt 1983, p. 27-36.

²⁵ This stand was first taken by E. SCHWARTZ, *Fünf Vorträge über den griechischen Roman*, Berlin 1896 (1943²), p. 123-125; ID., *Die Berichte über die catilinarische Verschwörung*, *Hermes* 32 (1897), p. 554-608, esp. p. 560-561; ID., *Kallisthenes' Hellenika*, *Hermes* 35 (1900), p. 106-130; ID., *Die Zeit des Ephoros*, *Hermes* 44 (1909), p. 481-502. It was then adopted by P. SCHELLER, *o.c.* (n. 10), esp. p. 68-71, and by F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* 76 F1 commentary. The position is further defended by K. VON FRITZ, *Die Bedeutung des Aristoteles für die Geschichtsschreibung*, in *Histoire et historiens dans l'Antiquité (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, 4)*, Vandœuvres-Genève 1956, p. 85-145. N. ZEGERS, *o.c.* (n. 22), thinks it possible, on the basis of «Aristotelian» terminology in Polybius' critique of dramatizing historiography (II 56: see below, p. 222-224), to even reconstruct Theophrastus' lost *Περὶ ἱστορίας* and to see in that work the manifesto of 'tragic historiography'. See also C. O. BRINK, *Tragic History and Aristotle's School*, *PCPhS* N.S. 6 (1960), p. 14-19, and recently P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, Oxford 1972, p. 546 and II, p. 586, n. 217 (on Agatharchides).

D. FLACH, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 14-22, sketches the evolution from Aristotle over Theophrastus to Duris, but emphasizes that Aristotle himself was surely not responsible for the movement; he points out that, besides Peripatetic ideas, already existing procedures in historical writing and the altered political scene also played a role in the development. He thus occupies an intermediary position between the authors cited in notes 25 and 26. C.W. FOR-

shown that the tendency toward dramatization and graphic presentation has always existed in Greek historiography, so that its conspicuous presence in those writers can be explained equally well without recourse to a special theory or a real 'school'²⁶. A reaction against the «rhetorical» direction may also have contributed to the growth of the tendency to dramatization.

To utter a verdict on the merits of these historians remains particularly difficult: the few theoretical statements and the surviving fragments of their works do not suffice to produce a correct picture. Opinions about authors like Duris (4th-3rd century B.C.) and Phylarchus (3rd century B.C.) therefore vary considerably, from highly negative (sensationalism, distortion of the truth, fantasy, exaggeration) to quite positive (demonstration of an underlying truth), whereby sometimes a gap between theory and practice is pointed out²⁷.

NARA, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 130-134, cautiously argues that the existence of a dramatizing tendency before Duris does not preclude his elaboration of an own theory.

B. L. ULLMANN, *History and Tragedy*, *TAPhA* 73 (1942), p. 25-53, stands alone with his view that 'tragic historiography' was launched by Isocrates.

²⁶ F. WEHRLI, *Die Geschichtsschreibung im Lichte der antiken Theorie*, in *Eumusia. Festgabe für E. Howald*, Zürich 1947, p. 54-71 (he points to Gorgias and Ctesias as antecedents); F. WALBANK, *Tragic History: a Reconsideration*, *BICS* 2 (1955), p. 4-14, and *History and Tragedy*, *Historia* 9 (1960), p. 216-234, and *Polybius (Sather Classical Lectures, 42)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1972, p. 34-40 (he points out that Herodotus and Thucydides, too, were to a certain extent 'tragic' historians; against N. Zegers he would explain the appearance of Aristotelian terms in Polyb. II 56 precisely through Polybius' intention to portray Phylarchus' work as a tragedy). Cf. K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik bei Polybios (Palingenesia, 9)*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 109-115 and 125-126; R. B. KEBRIC, *In the Shadow of Macedon. Duris of Samos (Historia Einzelschriften, 29)*, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 15-18; K. SACKS, *Polybius on the Writing of History (Univ. Calif. Publ. in Class. Stud.)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1981, p. 144-170 (he demonstrates, e.g. via a thorough study of Polybius' terminology, that that historian does not employ the technical terms of an existing school); M. VERCRUYSE, *Het thema van de oprechtheid in de methode van de Griekse historici van Hecataeus tot Polybius*, diss. Leuven 1982, 2 vol., I, p. 151-154 (Polybius is reacting against a procedure in general, not against a specific group of people); A. MASTROCINQUE, *La liberazione di Tebe (379 a.C.) e le origini della storiografia tragica*, in *Omaggio a P. Treves* (a cura di A. MASTROCINQUE), Padova 1983, p. 237-247 (since a 'tragic' historiography exists of which traces are already to be found in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, its invention by the Peripatetic school is out of the question).

For a recent and excellent status quaectionis of the problems in connection with 'tragic' historiography, see J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 15-19.

²⁷ E. SCHWARTZ, in the studies cited in n. 25 above, and F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* IIC, esp. p. 117-118, pronounce an explicitly negative verdict on the tragic historians. Especially H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 78-83, would recognize in them a sincere concern with stating the truth (cf. also his opinion of Duris F I, discussed p. 219 and in n. 30); but F. W. WALBANK, *Polybius* (n. 26), p. 31 and 39 with notes, thinks Strasburger is aiming too high. J. KROYMANN, art. *Phylarchos*, in *RE Suppl. VIII* (1956), col. 471-489, and G. SCHEPENS, "Εμφρασις und ἐνάργεια in Polybios' *Geschichtsschreibung*, *RSA* 5 (1975),

A general pronouncement on vividness and dramatization in historical writing is the well-known F1 of Duris of Samos, disciple of Theophrastus, with a wide-ranging interest in the sciences, art and literature, author of several historical works, tyrant of Samos²⁸. In the fragment, quoted by Photius and presumably taken from Duris' prooemium, he condemns Ephorus and Theopompus for their failure to faithfully render reality (τῶν γενομένων πλεῖστον ἀπελείφθησαν); for there is no μίμησις and no ἡδονή in their work, since they care only about their style (αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον²⁹). The two 4th-century colleagues, then, are reproached for their one-sided attention to language and style. Just what Duris meant by μίμησις and ἡδονή as the alternative is not so clear. The context makes it plain that it cannot be the pursuit of the theatrical and the pleasure that gives, without regard for veracity. For in Duris' eyes his approach benefits the truth more. H. Strasburger suggests a kind of potential likeliness which brings about a κάθαρσις-effect within the reader (this on the basis of the well-known Aristotelian μίμησις)³⁰. Others, however, consider μίμησις a purely literary term, vividness of description³¹. The means used to do truth justice is in any event the

p. 185-200, are rather favourably inclined toward the movement. D. FLACH, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 14-22, and K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 109-126, distinguish between positive intentions and inferior realization.

²⁸ For a general discussion of Duris' life and work, see L. FERRERO, *Tra poetica ed istoria: Duride di Samo*, in *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria A. Rostagni*, Torino 1963, p. 68-100; L. OKIN, *Studies in Duris of Samos*, diss. Univ. Calif., Los Angeles 1974; R. B. KERRIC, *o.c.* (n. 26); cf. also the status quaestionis in J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 9-19.

²⁹ B. GENTILI - G. CERRI, *Strutture comunicative del discorso storico nel pensiero storiografico dei Greci*, in *Il verri* 5.2 (1973), p. 53-78, attempt to further specify Duris' criticism in connection with style on the basis of the two terms φράσαι and γράφειν. Duris would be drawing a distinction between Ephorus and Theopompus, who wrote their works as pieces to be read quietly (γράφειν), and himself, since he is also concerned with the effect upon an audience when read aloud (φράσαι). See also their *Storia e biografia nel pensiero antico*, Roma-Bari 1983, p. 111-112.

R. B. KERRIC, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 39-40, thinks that αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον would mean that Ephorus and Theopompus were only concerned with the amount of text produced, not with its finish, so that their (very lengthy) works were quite dull. Cf., however, the review by J. MALITZ, *Gnomon* 25 (1980), p. 384-386.

³⁰ *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 78-83. Compare, however, the critique of F. W. WALBANK, *Polybius* (n. 26), p. 35 with n. 17, and K. MEISTER (see following note).

³¹ F. W. WALBANK, *History and Tragedy* (n. 26), p. 218-220. K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 109-116: Duris did take his terminology from Aristotle, but gave the words a new meaning; μίμησις is a literary term for him and ἡδονή indicates the literary pleasure the reader experiences from a good account. He also positively assesses the aim of this procedure. In the same sense R. B. KERRIC, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 15-18; M. VERCRUYSE, *o.c.* (n. 26) I, p. 124-125. C. W. FORNARA, *o.c.* (n. 4), p. 124-129, proposes a further specification of the 'vividness' which is at issue: in his view the element of surprise (peripety) is central and the emphasis thereof makes history attractive.

vivid and detailed portrayal of reality. Since it will become apparent from other texts that it is precisely the violent events and the resultant human suffering that tend most to be presented in such a way, we have here a very interesting viewpoint for the inquiry at hand.

A theoretical confirmation of the demand to describe violence in detail (in the interest of truth) is provided by an interesting passage of Agatharchides of Cnidus, a geographer and historian of the 2nd century B.C.³² The fragment has survived in Photius' summary (codex 250) of his work *On the Red Sea*. As a theoretical problem Agatharchides discusses in the proem to his 5th book the question how major disasters and misery can be adequately rendered by one who has not himself experienced them. He takes issue with the rhetorician Hegesias who related the capture of Olynthus and of Thebes. Although the text appears in Agatharchides' geographical work, although there is talk of *πολιτικοὶ ἄνδρες* and poets, and despite the fact that the discussion is with a rhetorician, we can still recognize in this text the same train of thought that leads to dramatization in historical writing. The final aim — of which more anon — is precisely the same.

The problem is posed by Agatharchides as follows (the phrasing has probably been influenced somewhat by the epitomator Photius):

Many orators and poets have not known how a man who has not experienced the dangers should report extreme disasters. There is no clear way of doing this except by giving an adequate reason for describing the situation (445b39-446a2 — transl. D. A. Russell).

With a variety of examples from the rhetor Hegesias he then shows what is to be avoided in the treatment of such a theme (turgid prose, forced puns, exaggerated imagery)³³. Meanwhile it also appears from the terminology what is missing in Hegesias' speeches: *πάθος* (446a23,

³² See for Agatharchides and his significance K. REINHARDT, *Poseidonios*, München 1921, p. 22-24 (with a negative verdict); H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 88-92 (with a positive appreciation); P. M. FRASER, *o.c.* (n. 25) I, p. 515-517 and 539-550, II, p. 744-745 and 773-790 (the text discussed here: I, p. 542-543). For a discussion of the text see also M. VERCRUYSE, *o.c.* (n. 26) I, p. 125-127 (in connection with «the literary nature of historiographical sources»). D. WOELK, *Agatharchides von Knidos, Über das Rote Meer. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, diss. Freiburg, Bamberg 1966, p. 105-106, does not deal with the passage in detail.

³³ See the analysis of the text by O. IMMISCH, *Agatharchidea* (SHAW, 1919.7), Heidelberg 1919, p. 3-11. He points out that a rhetorical scheme is employed here (the exposition in *Περὶ ὕψους* displays the same sequence). Text references are to the Photius edition of R. HENRY, *Photius, Bibliothèque VII (Codices 246-256) (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris 1974, p. 134-189 (250. Agatharchide); the translation is taken from D. A. RUSSELL, *Criticism in Antiquity*, London 1981, p. 173-176.

447a21), συμπάθεια (446a27), ἐνέργεια (or ἐνάργεια) (446a28, 447a36). More extensively:

A writer who aims at pity must give up wit, and set out the facts to which the emotion is related (τὸ πρᾶγμα σημαίνειν ᾧ οἰκείωται τὸ πάθος, 446a35-36)...

... lamenting the misfortunes of the city ... and seeing how he can bring the disaster under our eyes by vivid description (ὀλυφύρεσθαι τῶν πόλεων τὴν τύχην καὶ σκοπεῖν ... πῶς τὸ πάθος ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἀγάγοι διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας, 446b16-19).

He seems to be driving at a concrete description in sober language. Several good examples he gives are restricted to one sentence or one image, each time with a concrete portrayal of the captured city:

The citadel of the Thebans is ploughed and sown (447a19).

A city, our neighbour, has vanished from the midst of Greece (447a25-26).

From Demosthenes he quotes a somewhat longer passage in which the destruction of the hearths — right down to the ashes — and the allotment of women and children among the barbarians is described. Agatharchides characterizes as follows:

Demosthenes here takes the extreme consequences of each action, and expresses them bitterly, clearly and concisely; but he has not forgotten the vividness that makes facts clear (ὁμῶς ... τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐναργείας οὐκ ἐπελάθετο. 447a29-36).

In conclusion there follows a final quote from Demosthenes, who writes that Olynthus, Methone, Apollonia and 32 cities in Thrace were so savagely destroyed that it is no longer to be seen that they had ever existed at all. Again an interesting commentary follows:

Demosthenes here underlined the number of cities and then added the misfortunes of the inhabitants, so that the particular compassion aroused by the paradoxical fact might move the sympathy of the hearers all the more (ὅπως ὁ πλεῖστος οἶκτος τοῦ παραδόξου τεθέντος μᾶλλον τῶν ἀκρωμένων ἐκκαλέσεται τὸ πάθος, 447a36-447b3).

This lengthy text gives us a better insight into the considerations of the dramatizing historiographers, even though the actual discussion is concerned with speeches. Agatharchides in any case also applied this theory to his own historical works, and in Photius' summary of book V of *On the Red Sea* there follow some striking examples, among them the

celebrated description of the gold mines in Ethiopia and the unimaginable suffering of the forced labourers there (447b21-448b37)³⁴.

The texts discussed evidence an approach to the description of violence that calls for the portrayal of cruelty, suffering, etc. in great detail precisely on behalf of truth. In practice, however, such a theory readily tends to excess. If one is concerned only with arousing horror or pity in the audience, then the pursuit of truth will easily make way for exaggeration, the invention of details, etc., so that the truth becomes endangered, rather than served, by sensationalism.

Reactions against such excesses date back to Antiquity itself. Plutarch and Lucian, for instance, more than once voice their criticism of too sensational and in their view fictitious tales. Their statements will be dealt with below³⁵. Best-known, however, is Polybius' critique of the tendency to dramatize history; especially in II 56-63 he dwells at length on the method of Phylarchus, a historian of the 3rd century B.C.³⁶. He uses the latter's work as a source for the history of the Greek mainland in the 3rd century in addition to that of Aratus, and condemns Phylarchus' account of the Cleomenic War as sensationalist literature in which the truth is violated.

In his discussion he offers his view of Phylarchus' approach by means of concrete examples. First he deals with the taking of Mantinea:

He (*scil.* Phylarchus) tells us that the Mantineans, when they surrendered, were exposed to terrible sufferings and that such were the misfortunes that overtook this, the most ancient and greatest city in Arcadia, as to impress deeply and move to tears all the Greeks. In his eagerness to arouse pity and attention of his readers, he treats us to a picture of clinging women with their hair dishevelled and their breasts bare, or again of crowds of both sexes together with their children and aged parents weeping and lamenting as they are led away to slavery. This sort of thing he keeps up throughout his history, always trying to bring horrors vividly before our eyes (πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθεῖναι τὰ δεινὰ) (II 56.6-8 — transl. W. R. Paton).

³⁴ O. IMMISCH, *o.c.* (n. 33), p. 3-11, points out that the theoretical discussion in the prooemium thus relates to the exposition that follows. For 447b21-448b37 see H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 89-90, and P. M. FRASER, *o.c.* (n. 25) I, p. 543 and II, p. 779 n. 184-185.

³⁵ For Plutarch see below, p. 242-245; for Lucian, p. 245-248.

³⁶ A theoretical pronouncement by Phylarchus himself has not survived. For the fragments see *FGrHist* 81 and F. LISSONE, *De fragmenten van de geschiedschrijver Phylarchus*, Nijmegen 1969 (with translation and commentary). See also E. GABBA, *Studi in Filarco*, *Athenaeum* 35 (1957), p. 3-55 and 193-239; T. AFRICA, *Phylarchus and the Spartan Revolution*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1969; K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 93-108 (in particular on the text in question here).

In Polybius' view this is an approach more suited to a writer of tragedy. Indeed, it is his further commentary that inspired the term «tragic history»:

A historical author should not try to thrill his readers by such exaggerated pictures, nor should he, like a tragic poet (καθάπερ οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι), try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrences with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace (II 56.10).

There follows a comparison between historiography and tragedy in which he emphasizes that the former always pursues truth (II 56.11-12). He further reproaches Phylarchus that his work relates only the great disasters without attention for their pre-history, for the reasons that led to them (II 56.13-16). He goes further into this aspect and offers his version of the events preceding the capture of Mantinea (II 57-58). There follows a second example of Phylarchus' approach, the torture of the tyrant Aristomachus of Argos:

Exercising in this case too his peculiar talent, the author gives us a made-up story of his cries when on the rack having reached the ears of the neighbours, some of whom, horrified at the crime, others scarcely crediting their senses and others in hot indignation ran to the house. About Phylarchus' vice of sensationalism (περὶ... τῆς τοιαύτης τερατείας) I need say no more... (II 59.2-3).

Again he devotes considerable attention to what went before, which must make the reader assume a different attitude toward the events from that suggested by Phylarchus (II 59-60). Finally he enumerates some data lacking in Phylarchus as well as a few errors of detail his predecessor made (II 61-63).

We here have a highly concrete picture of what dramatization in historiography can mean, though we must not overlook the fact that the texts are of a polemic nature. Polybius wants to show up Phylarchus' version, with which his readers were probably familiar, as worthless and employs the sharpest language possible. Not only the different historiographical technique of the two authors plays a role in this, but behind the scenes literary competition and political contrasts are other matters to be weighed³⁷. Therefore the reproach of outright distortion of facts

³⁷ F. W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybius*, *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 1-12, strongly emphasizes the literary and political motivation behind Polybius' criticism. Cf. K. E. PETZOLD, *Studien zur*

may be baseless and the extreme equalization of the work with a tragedy an exaggeration. A verdict on the actual amount of truth in Phylarchus' work, then, cannot be reached on the basis of Polybius' critique. But the texts do give a fair idea of the treatment of concrete scenes, and precisely violent ones. Apparently care was taken to portray the drama of the events narrated and that in full detail. The πάθος of the defeated Mantineans had to be apparent from the image of the lamenting women.

In the spirit of Duris' theoretical statement all this should be seen as the μίμησις of concrete reality in the interest of truth. This provides yet another indication that precisely violence is well-suited to such μίμησις. Polybius, however, sharply disagrees with this approach. Let us now, starting from the same text, take a closer look at his own view on the theme at issue.

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Polybius' attitude toward the relating of violence is a nuanced one. His comments on this topic — like those of other writers — will not be found in a single systematic discussion, but are spread over several passages and elicited by other problems or facts. Still, they are easily assembled into a logical whole.

The beginning of Polybius' critique of Phylarchus just referred to gives the impression that he is rejecting the detailed portrayal of the suffering that attends the taking of a city as mere sensationalism. The concrete example he cites is branded as «trying to evoke compassion at all costs» (σπουδάζων ... εἰς ἔλεον ἐκκαλεῖσθαι ..., II 56.7)³⁸ and as ἀγεννῆς καὶ γυναικῶδες (56.9). But in giving the theoretical grounds for his condemnation (from 56.10) he puts increasing emphasis on the element 'truth':

Methode des Polybios und zu ihrer historischen Auswertung, München 1969, p. 100-128, for II 56-63, esp. p. 114-115; he discusses the ideological coloration of Polybius' Achaica. K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 93-109, esp. p. 97-103, stresses primarily the difference in political persuasion between Polybius and Phylarchus. In his *Polybius* (n. 26), p. 34-35, F.W. WALBANK, makes more allowance for the real scientific antithesis between Polybius and his historiographical contemporaries. See also G. A. LEHMANN, *Polybios und die ältere und zeitgenössische griechische Geschichtsschreibung: einige Bemerkungen*, in *Polybe (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, 20)*, Vandœuvres-Genève 1973, p. 145-206. J. BONCQUET, *Polybius on the Critical Evaluation of Historians*, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/1983), p. 277-291, discusses the valuable theoretical principles on which Polybius' criticism is based.

³⁸ The pregnant meaning of σπουδάζω in this context was pointed out by A. NIČEV, *Éthique et esthétique chez Polybe*, *REG* 91 (1978), p. 149-157, here p. 151.

history does not require fantastic tales, fabricated speeches, marginal circumstances, but only the actual orations and events (56.10); tragedy tries to shock for one moment, but history must teach through veracity, so that the one requires mere probability, the other truth (56.11)³⁹. Polybius also thinks it very significant that Phylarchus arouses pity without specifying the cause of the events. Yet this is indispensable if a rational judgement is to be passed (ἐλεεῖν εὐλογῶς... ὀργίζεσθαι καθηκόντως, 56.13)⁴⁰.

The text thus reveals that Polybius does initially give the impression of wholly rejecting elaborate scenes of the victims of a captured city. Presumably he does so intentionally in this exposition, in order to lend force to his argument, inspired in part by bias with regard to the events and prejudice toward the author⁴¹. It is apparent from what follows that either the distortion of the facts or the omission of the causes of an event is the reason for his rejecting accounts that arouse pity. That Phylarchus is indeed guilty of the second vice is demonstrated by Polybius at some length (II 57.1 - 58.11); that his details too are a distortion of the truth has nowhere been proved: that aspect seems to be smoothed over in the argumentation, and only in 58.12-14 are they put down as ψεῦδος, ψεῦδος ἀπίθανον, albeit without proof.

In the rest of the text an analogous reasoning is constructed with the aid of a second example from Phylarchus' treatment of the War of Cleomenes (II 59-60). Here, too, the objections are falsehood (πλάττει ..., 59.2) and neglect of the pre-history.

Several other texts, in which Polybius inveighs against dramatized scenes of violence, explicitly demonstrate that it is not for the detailed describing of violence in itself that they are reproached, but for their lack of veracity: adventures are invented and all kinds of fictitious details are added to an account to enhance its patheticness⁴². Thus

³⁹ See S. MOHM, *Untersuchungen zu den historiographischen Anschauungsformen des Polybios*, diss. Saarbrücken 1976, Saarbrücken 1977, p. 108-116, who underscores the element of untruth in the term *τεπαιρεία*, so central to Polybius; on this passage, p. 110-111 and 139-144. The text is quoted in part above, p. 223.

⁴⁰ A. NIČEV, *art. cit.* (n. 38), argues that the element 'cause' must always be taken into account before one can speak of ἔλεος; especially with Polybius it is apparent, in his opinion, that such emotions are not based on the facts but on their motivation. But he makes no mention of Polybius' pity upon the Greeks in XXXVIII 1 (who, it is clearly stated, are themselves to blame for their misery).

⁴¹ See above, p. 223-224 with n. 37.

⁴² See F. W. WALBANK, *Polybius* (n. 26), p. 34-40; K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 109-126; K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 162-166. In addition to his criticism of accounts of violence by

Polybius argues that the lengthy list of cruelties perpetrated according to certain historians by the tyrant Hieronymus of Syracuse and painted by them in living colour (τραγωδοῦντες... τὴν ὡμότητα) are improbable (οὐκ εἰκός) in view of his age and brief reign:

In this space of time it is possible that one or two men may have been tortured, and some of his friends and of the other Syracusans put to death, but... (VII 7.4 — transl. W. R. Paton)⁴³.

He sees the explanation of these exaggerations in the inflation of insignificant facts in order to have sufficient material for a «monograph» (VII 7.6). That his criticism is not directed against the presence of violence in itself, but only against untruth, is even clearer in his commentary after the story of the Egyptian Agathocles (XV 23-36)⁴⁴. He condemns the way some historians have dramatized this material and blames them specifically for either according too great a role to the τύχη or for rationalizing too much. A surfeit of violence he apparently does not find here, since those details are also abundantly present in his own, preceding, account. But there is a surfeit of what he calls ἐκπληκτικαὶ περιπετεῖαι, which enhances neither the usefulness nor the attractiveness of a historical work (XV 36)⁴⁵. In XXIX 12, where he deals with the approach of historians of the 6th Syrian War, he also objects mainly to untruth and exaggeration: τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μέγала ποιεῖν (XXIX 12.2-3); καὶ προστιθέναι παρ' αὐτῶν (XXIX 12.8). He contrasts their accounts (with extensive descriptions of totally insignificant skirmishes) with his

dramatizing historians. Polybius often also objects to other traits in these authors which are beyond the scope of the present paper (e.g. the presence of wonders); see e.g. K. MEISTER, *l.c.*, and M. VERCURYSSE, *o.c.* (n. 26) I, p. 151-155.

⁴³ See F. W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* II, Oxford 1967, p. 39-41; K. MEISTER, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 159-161; S. MOHM, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 112-113 (who speaks of «quantitativen und qualitativen Aufbauschen»).

⁴⁴ K. ABEL, *Polybios, Buch 14: res Aegypti, Historia* 32 (1983), p. 268-286, argues that this passage actually belongs to Polybius' 14th, not to his 15th book.

⁴⁵ See F. W. WALBANK, *o.c.* (n. 43), p. 493-495; H. A. GÄRTNER, *Beobachtungen zu Bauelementen in der antiken Historiographie besonders bei Livius und Caesar (Historia Einzelschriften, 25)*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 61-62 (who points out that the story of Moragenes is elaborated by Polybius himself as an «Einzelszene» because it is a περιπέτεια; yet further on Polybius dismisses περιπετεῖαι, which leaves us with a version that is «gereinigt»). S. MOHM, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 123 and esp. p. 131-132, interprets the passage — in my view wrongly so — as though Polybius is wholly rejecting a discussion of Agathocles' misfortunes. Compare K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 210-217 (Appendix C): it is only a rejection of excesses in τερατεία, a procedure only permissible for historically important figures. See also below, p. 229, for the passage in question here.

own work as follows: οὐ παντάπασιν εὐδοκεῖν ἔαν φιλῶς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον ἀποδιδῶμεν λόγον (XXIX 12.8).

Whereas the preceding texts have shown in a mainly negative way that it is not the detailed relating of violence in itself that is the object of censure, we also have an extensive passage in which Polybius points up the need for detail and accuracy in a positive manner. In his criticism of Timaeus in book XII he posits, *inter alia*, that a historian can write a useful work only through personal experience and not through book-learning (25d.1). Before proving that Timaeus does not meet this standard, he demonstrates in more general terms the correctness of his thesis (25d.2-25i.1)⁴⁶. After a comparison of medicine and historiography (25e), he makes an analysis of battle accounts in several authors (25f-g). In a first point he discusses concrete examples from Ephorus and shows that this writer is excellent in naval encounters but incompetent in land battles, especially when the course of events becomes complicated (25f). And the descriptions of Theopompus and Timaeus, he says, are equally unsuccessful. Up to now all is seen from the standpoint of an adequate presentation of the tactics. In the general observations that follow (25g), however, more is involved: a war or a political evolution can only be described by experienced people, for:

so that, as nothing written by mere students of books is written with experience (ἐμπειρῶς) or vividness (ἐμφαντικῶς), their works are of no practical utility to readers (25g.2).

By way of a comparison with painting he further makes it clear what is lacking in the work of an armchair historian:

We miss in them the vividness of facts (ἐμφασίς τῶν πραγμάτων), as this impression can only be produced by the personal experience of the author (ἐκ τῆς αὐτοπαθείας). Those, therefore, who have not been through the events themselves do not succeed in arousing the interest of their readers (ἀληθινοὺς ζήλους) (25h.3-4).

⁴⁶ This interpretation of Polybius' reasoning is based on the work of G. SCHEPENS, who in a forthcoming publication on Polybius' 12th book proposes a wholly new view of its structure. I am very grateful for his generous sharing of his insights. As for the here discussed passage, his interpretation coincides largely with that of K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 31-32; the overall economy of book XII and the interpretation of some other parts, however, are considerably different. See further for this passage P. PÉDECH, *Polybe. Histoires, livre XII (Collection des Universités de France)*, Paris 1961, p. xiv-xxxv, and F. W. WALBANK, *o.c.* (n. 43), p. 393-397 with the literature cited in n. 47-49 below.

The αὐτοπάθεια then must on the one hand guarantee precision and expertise, but also what Polybius calls ἔμφασις, a quality capable of arousing the readers's interest; both components serve the utility of the work.

Whereas the first part of the text is concerned chiefly with the clear exposition of the tactical course of a battle, the wording of what follows suggests that the author also has other elements in mind. The terms employed, however, are rather vague and open to several interpretations. The attitude expressed can only be explained in conjunction with other pronouncements by Polybius, among them his nuanced view of «utility and pleasure» in historiography⁴⁷. G. Schepens would recognize in ἐμφαντικῶς and ἔμφασις τῶν πραγμάτων the language of the dramatizing historians and places these terms on the same level as ἐνάργεια and μίμησις. Polybius would so have cleansed the theory formulated by Duris (vivid description in the interest of truth), which had become diluted in Duris himself and other dramatizing writers, by re-emphasizing the demand for veracity⁴⁸. The mention of ἀληθινούς ζήλους could also point in that direction. K. Sacks, on the other hand, argues, on the basis of an extensive study of Polybius' terminology, that there is no relationship with a theory of dramatization in historiography, that Polybius develops a specific vocabulary, which springs from his own historical reflection, and that the term ἔμφασις has nothing to do with 'vividness' but is used to point out the underlying truth of events, which finds expression in a precise and clear exposition (which can be very matter-of-fact)⁴⁹. Whether one takes ἔμφασις to mean a vivid and expressive portrayal of the facts or rather a detailed and precise exposi-

⁴⁷ On which see S. MOHM, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 121-133: Polybius distinguishes two kinds of pleasure, lasting, which he accepts (and virtually equates with utility), and momentary, which he dismisses (and lumps together with ἐκπληξις); M. VERCruysse, *o.c.* (n. 26) I, p. 146-150 and II, p. 136-139, endorses this view. K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 122-144, esp. p. 137-140, holds that Polybius puts pleasure on the same level with utility in passages where he utters praise or reproach, but in all other instances regards pleasure as less important.

⁴⁸ G. SCHEPENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27). In a forthcoming study (see n. 46) he further demonstrates that the view of P. PÉDECH, *La méthode historique de Polybe*, Paris 1964, p. 276-288 («La matière des discours: 'ἔμφασις'»), is based on an erroneous interpretation of Polybius' argumentation in book XII.

⁴⁹ K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 32-47. In the same direction M. VERCruysse, *o.c.* (n. 26) I, p. 146-150 and II, p. 136-139: «... dat Polybius voor het esthetische weinig ruimte laat in zijn historiografische opvattingen. 'Le plaisir du texte' wijst hij van de hand. Hij erkent slechts een intellectualistische vorm van 'genot'» (p. 150).

tion, a measure of detail and concrete presentation is in any case required.

In keeping with Polybius' strict standards on so many other points, however, a further condition is attached to the application of such detailing: only the accounts of historically significant facts may be so elaborated⁵⁰. That is a second reason why the treatment of Hieronymus of Syracuse by predecessors is rejected by Polybius in VII 7: not only have they told untruths, but in addition the circumstantiality of their account is wholly disproportionate to the historical importance of the figure in question (VII 7.5-7). Polybius makes the same remark in connection with the story of the Egyptian Agathocles (XV 34-36). And a similar reasoning is also followed in the already discussed passage on the 6th Syrian War (XXIX 12): historians who have written only on this war exaggerate the facts and fabricate details. Mere skirmishes are made into great battles:

Describing engagements and pitched battles in which the infantry losses were at times ten men or it may be a few more and the cavalry losses still fewer (XXIX 12.3).

For those authors, when... they describe, for instance, the sieges of Phanotea, Coronea or Haliartus, find it necessary to place before their readers all the devices, all the daring strokes, and all the other features of sieges in general (XXIX 12.7)⁵¹.

Conversely, Polybius in many places also defends detailed accounts he himself delivers by underscoring the historical importance of the facts at issue. His circumstantial account of the battle of Zama (XV 9-16), for example, in which the trumpets sound, shouts abound, weapons clang, missiles fly about, and the battlefield becomes slippery with blood and corpses (esp. XV 12-14), is preceded by a lengthy consideration of the importance of the encounter:

Is there anyone who can remain unmoved (τίς οὐκ ἂν συμπαθῆς γένοιτο) in reading the narrative of such an encounter? For it would be impossible to find more valiant soldiers, or generals who had been more successful

⁵⁰ See S. MOHM, *o.c.* (n. 39), p. 68-91; K. SACKS, *o.c.* (n. 26), p. 162-166; M. VERCRUYSE, *Het thema van de waarheidsverdraaiing in de Griekse geschiedschrijving. Een onderzoek van Polybius en zijn voorgangers (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jg. 46, Nr. 115)*, Brussel 1984, p. 39-41.

⁵¹ See also above, p. 225-227 (where another aspect of Polybius' critique in these cases is discussed), with the literature cited there.

and were more thoroughly exercised in the art of war, nor indeed had Fortune ever offered to contending armies a more splendid prize of victory, since the conquerors would not be masters of Africa and Europe alone, but of all those parts of the world which now hold a place in history; as indeed they very shortly were (XV 9.3-5).

Also remarkable is the description of the siege of Abydus by Philip (XVI 29-35). Here too the reader is given appallingly realistic scenes with combat, stacks of corpses, and grim acts of despair in an almost Homeric fashion (esp. XVI 33.1-3 and 34.9-12). It is significant that Polybius again offers an explanation:

The siege was not so remarkable for the greatness of the preparations and the variety of the devices employed in the works ... as for the bravery and exceptional spirit displayed by the besieged, which rendered it especially worthy of being remembered and described to posterity (XVI 30.2-3).

The detailed and gripping treatment in the last two books — about the capture of Corinth in Polybius' account Strabo says: Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ σύμβαντα περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐν οἴκτου μέρει λέγων (VIII 6.23) — is justified by the special historical importance, as Polybius clearly states, e.g. in the first paragraphs of book XXXVIII⁵². While the explicit justification of his approach indicates that he is in these cases going further than he usually does, the examples still demonstrate that ἔμφασις in such passages indeed leads to vivid scenes.

A first important conclusion from these texts of Polybius is that not one actually deals directly with the relating of violence as a specific problem. Violent scenes are discussed in connection with other methodological matters such as dramatization, distortion of the truth, the difficulties of a monograph, «utility and pleasure» of a work, etc. It is not insignificant that Polybius, who reflected on and wrote about so

⁵² Notable are e.g. XXXVIII 16 (acts of despair by Greeks), 19-22 (the fall of Carthage), and XXXIX 2 (the fall of Corinth, only fragmentarily preserved). See F. W. WALBANK, *Polybius* (n. 26), p. 39-40, and *Historical Commentary* III, Oxford 1979, p. 712-713, 718-725, 728-730. Polybius also justifies at some length his more gripping treatment of the 'fall' of Philip V of Macedon (XXIII 10-11), which he describes almost like a tragic historian would: see F. W. WALBANK, Φίλιππος τραγωδούμενος. *A Polybian Experiment*, *JHS* 58 (1938), p. 55-68. The summary now makes it impossible to establish to what extent the description of violence played a role, but it is probable that it did (cf. the version it inspired in Livius XL 3-16, who may himself, of course, be responsible for a number of details).

many problems, apparently had not specific questions to ponder concerning the presentation of violent material.

In comparison with previously discussed authors his procedure in this matter appears to be quite nuanced and considered: battles, the capture of cities, acts of savagery, etc., must be related concretely; precisely and in detail in order to make the practical utility of the work as great as possible; perhaps he would even accept that attractiveness through vivid scenes can stimulate a reader to take to hand a useful work; but there are two important conditions: on no account may the truth be violated by the invention of details, and events must be sufficiently important historically to justify such a circumstantial treatment.

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* * *

A number of critical and rhetorical works, mostly from the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D., also deal with passages of violence in historical writings. The attitude here, however, is much less nuanced. Of course one may not overlook the fact that in these writings language, style, and literary value are the point of focus and that historiography is only discussed as literature together with other genres or in order to confront a historian with another author. Thus the available testimonia are only relevant for one aspect; however, they still demonstrate how significant that aspect was for certain critics (and probably readers as well).

The position defended here is voiced most clearly in two rhetorical works. This is why they will be discussed first, even though they are not the oldest testimony. We are talking about the *Progymnasmata*, discussions of the preparatory exercises for pupils of rhetorical schools⁵³, compiled by the 1st-century rhetor Aelius Theon and his 2nd-century colleague Hermogenes⁵⁴. The nature of these works makes it at once

⁵³ A brief discussion of such exercises and their place within rhetorical training is given by W. KROLL, art. *Rhetorik*, in *RE* Suppl. VII (1940), col. 1039-1138, esp. col. 1118-1119. See esp. D. L. CLARK, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, New York 1966, p. 177-212. A fleeting presentation of the place occupied by historians in these *Progymnasmata* is provided by J. BOMPAIRE, *Les historiens classiques dans les exercices préparatoires de rhétorique (Progymnasmata)*, in *Recueil Plassart. Études sur l'antiquité grecque offertes à A. Plassart*, Paris 1976, p. 1-7.

⁵⁴ For Aelius Theon see W. SCHMID-O. STÄHLIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* II.1 (*HdA*, VII 2.1), München 1920^o, p. 460-461; W. STEGEMANN, art. *Theon* (5), in *RE* VA (1934), col. 2037-2054 (who discussed the life and works of the rhetor at length and

clear that their primary intention is not to dissect the method of historians. Still, it appears from Theon's introduction that certain ties with historiography do exist: he points out first of all that such *progymnasmata* are also useful as preparation for historians (ὁ τε γὰρ καλῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως διήγησιν καὶ μῦθον ἀπαγγείλας καλῶς καὶ ἱστορίαν συνθήσει, II p.60.2-4 Spengel) and, a bit further, that the ἔκφρασις — and precisely that element of the *progymnasmata* will be further dealt with — is frequently employed by them (ὁ δὲ καλούμενος κοινὸς τόπος καὶ ἡ ἔκφρασις προφανῇ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἔχουσι, πανταχοῦ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν μὲν ἱστορικῶν πάντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἔκφράσει, τῶν δὲ ῥητορικῶν τῷ τόπῳ κεχρημένων, II p.60.19-22 Spengel)⁵⁵. Furthermore, historical texts are continually used as examples.

One of the themes discussed is the ἔκφρασις, defined by Theon as λόγος περιγηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὅψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον (II p. 118.7-8 Spengel); he supplements this at the end of the exposition with the qualities required of an ἔκφρασις: ἀρεταὶ δὲ ἐκφράσεως αἶδε, σαφήνεια μὲν μάλιστα καὶ ἐνάργεια τοῦ σχεδὸν ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα (II p. 119.26-28 Spengel)⁵⁶. According to the subject treated several kinds of ἔκφρασις are distinguished and illustrated with examples. Mostly cited, besides Homer, are historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Philistus, Ctesias). Theon then explains how an ἔκφρασις of an event is achieved by elaborating its various stages. The instance chosen herefor is a war. Theon's advice is as follows:

sketches the rhetorical tradition in which his *Progymnasmata* belong); G. KENNEDY, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 BC-AD 300*, Princeton 1972, p. 615-616. For Hermogenes see G. KENNEDY, *o.c.*, p. 619-633, and the literature cited there. These rhetorical works are cited according to L. SPENGLER, *Rhetores Graeci* II, Leipzig 1854; the references are to page and line numbers in that edition.

⁵⁵ Even further goes Ps-Dionysius, *Ars rhetorica* 10.17 (II, p. 372.9-10 Usener-Radermacher), who rejects ἔκφρασις for orators and holds that it slipped into rhetorical works κατὰ ζήλον τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed exposition of the rhetorical ideas on ἔκφρασις (*descriptio*) and its most important quality ἐνάργεια (*evidentia*), see R. VOLKMANN, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht*, Leipzig 1895², p. 275-276, 442-443 and 447; H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, München 1960, esp. p. 399-407 (§810-819: *evidentia*) and p. 544 (§1133: *descriptio*); J. MARTIN, *Antike Rhetorik. Technik und Methode* (HdA, II 3), München 1974, p. 252-255 and 288-289.

See further on ἔκφρασις G. DOWNEY, art. *Ekphrasis*, in *RAC* IV (1959), col. 921-944; J. PALM, *Bemerkungen zur Ekphrase in der griechischen Literatur*, in *Kunsl. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala* 1965-1966, p. 109-211 (*non vidi*); for ἐνάργεια G. AVENARIUS, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 130-140; G. ZANKER, *Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry*, *RhM* 124 (1981), p. 247-311, and the literature cited in n. 48-49 above.

Therefore we first describe in connection with a war the situation before the war, the recruiting of troops, the expenditures, the fear, the destruction of the fields, the sieges, then the injuries and the deaths and the mourning and in addition on the one side the capture and the sorrow, on the other the victory and the trophies (*Progym.* 11, II p.119.16-21 Spengel).

Here it is stated quite clearly that the treatment of a war as ἔκφρασις also requires that the writer enter into detail on the injuries, the deaths of soldiers, etc. The same thought is taken up again by later authors of *Progymnasmata*, most explicitly by Hermogenes (*Progym.* 10): he too offers a detailed survey of the various stages of an account of a war and mentions, among others, τὰς σφαγὰς, τοὺς θανάτους (II p.17.27 Spengel) and τῶν δὲ τὰ δάκρυα, τὴν δουλείαν (II p.17.29)⁵⁷. To sum up, these writings argue for the detailed relating of acts of war in the interest of vividness.

This demand is stated even more concretely in the contemporary Latin rhetorical literature, though the focus there is almost exclusively on orators and the link with historiography therefore much looser. Thus the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1st century B.C.) includes in his discussion of the *descriptio* an example of the taking of a city (4.39). Impressive is above all the lengthy text of Quintilian, who under the heading ἐνάργεια discusses the same theme and enumerates over more than an entire page which details should be given, since «minus est ... totum dicere quam omnia» (VIII 3.67-70):

So, too, we may move our hearers to tears by the picture of a captured town. For the mere statement that the town was stormed, while no doubt it embraces all that such calamity involves, has all the curtness of a dispatch, and fails to penetrate to the emotions of the hearer. But if we expand all that the one word «stormed» included, we shall see the flames pouring from house and temple, and hear the crash of falling roofs and one confused clamour blent of many cries: we shall behold some in doubt whither to fly, others clinging to their nearest and dearest in one last embrace, while the wailing of women and children and the laments of old men that the cruelty of fate should have spared them to see that day will strike upon our ears (67-68 — transl. M. E. Butler)⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ Other rhetoricians that speak of ἔκφρασις are more concise and do not give the elaborated example of the account of a war; however, they do recommend, in precisely the same way, circumstantiality, vividness, etc.: cf. Nicolaus Sophistes, *Progym.* 12 (II, p. 491-493 Spengel), and Aphthonius Sophistes, *Progym.* 12 (II, p. 46-47 Spengel).

⁵⁸ Compare, for *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.39, G. CALBOLI, *Cornifici Rhetorica ad C. Herennium. Introduzione, testo critico, commento*, Bologna 1969, p. 400-402 (n. 235 and 238). See for

In several works of literary criticism the same approach is clearly demanded on the part of historians, and failure to do so is often cause for censure.

Several pronouncements in Demetrius' treatise *De elocutione* follow a similar line. This is not the place to discuss the thorny question of the date of this tract: on the basis of divergent indications of language, style and content it is situated in the 3rd century B.C., the 2nd-1st century B.C., or in the 1st century A.D.; and a compromise has been proposed according to which the work would have been written in the 1st century A.D. on the basis of theories from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.⁵⁹. After a brief introductory discussion of the sentence and its component parts (1-35), the remainder of the work is taken up by an extensive treatment of the four 'styles'. For each style content, choice of words and composition are dealt with, though not always equally well separated (χαρακτήρ μεγαλοπρεπής: 38-127; χαρακτήρ γλαφυρός: 128-189; χαρακτήρ ισχνός: 190-239; χαρακτήρ δεινός: 240-304)⁶⁰.

In connection with the χαρακτήρ μεγαλοπρεπής Demetrius points out that the subject-matter can be great in its own right. An example is a major battle on land or at sea (§75). By way of a comparison with painting he makes it clear how important the subject can be, for poetry and even for prose (historiography is not explicitly mentioned, but Theopompus is cited by way of example in §75):

Quint. VIII 3.67-70 the discussion in H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 84-85, and for the theme in its entirety G. PAUL, *Urbs capta: Sketch of an Ancient Literary Motif*, *Phoenix* 36 (1982), p. 144-155.

⁵⁹ That the writer Demetrius cannot be identified with Demetrius of Phalerum is clearly demonstrated by F. WEHRLI, art. *Demetrios von Phaleron*, in *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), col. 514-522. The most important discussions of the data of the treatise are those of G. M. A. GRUBE, *A Greek Critic: Demetrius on Style* (*Phoenix Supplementary Volume*, 4), Toronto 1961, p. 39-56 (ca. 270 B.C.), and D. M. SCHENKEVELD, *Studies in Demetrius on Style*, diss. Amsterdam 1964, p. 135-148 (notes from the 1st century A.D., based on the lessons of a conservative rhetorician who expounded earlier theories [2nd-1st centuries B.C.], or on older works without any influence of more modern theories). For further literature see A. MANZO, Ἀδὸνатов, ὑπερβολή ε χάρις nella dottrina retorico-stilistica di Demetrio, in *Studi su Varrone sulla retorica, storiografia e poesia latina. Scritti in onore di B. Riposati I*, Milano-Rieti 1979, p. 269-289, esp. p. 270 with n. 2; now complemented by D. A. RUSSELL, *Criticism in Antiquity*, London 1981, p. 40 (first half 1st century B.C.); G. MORPURGO-TAGLIABUE, *Il χαρακτήρ δεινός di Demetrio e la sua datazione*, in *RAAN* 54 (1979), p. 281-318 (end of the Alexandrian period). The translation quoted is that of Grube (*o.c.*).

⁶⁰ For general information on *De elocutione* see in particular G. M. A. GRUBE, *o.c.* (n. 59), p. 3-56 (on the arrangement of the work, p. 23-24); a discussion of a number of problems concerning the contents is provided by D. M. SCHENKEVELD, *o.c.* (n. 59); he deals with the structure of the tract on p. 15-22.

Nicias, the painter, used to say that to choose a great subject is in itself no small part of the painter's art and that he should not fritter away his talent on trifling themes like birds or flowers. Rather he should choose cavalry charges or naval battles as his subjects, where he could introduce many horses galloping, rearing or crouching, many bowmen shooting, many riders falling from their chargers. Nicias considered the choice of theme to be itself a part of the art of painting just as it is of the poet's art. We should therefore not be surprised if, even in prose, great subjects have their own impressiveness (§ 76 — transl. M. G. A. Grube).

In his discussion of the *χαρακτήρ ἰσχνός* Demetrius clearly applies his general rules to a historian, which proves that in his view one finds these stylistic traits in historical writings as well as in other genres. For in §§ 209-220 he deals with vividness and analyzes in detail passages from Ctesias to prove the liveliness of his style (§§ 212-216). Inherent in the *χαρακτήρ ἰσχνός*, according to the author, is the danger of exaggeration, which leads to *ψυχρός*; this occurs when one fails to express an important subject in suitable language, but instead employs trivial words. The concrete example is the following:

Aridity of diction occurs when an important subject is described in trivial words, like Gadæus' description of the battle of Salamis. Or as someone said of Phalaris the tyrant that he «brought some troubles to the inhabitants of Agragas». A great naval battle or the cruelty of a tyrant should not be expressed by words like «some» or «troubles» but by impressive words suited to the subject (§ 237 — transl. G. M. A. Grube).

Demetrius therefore expects that such an impressive theme as a battle is described in suitable and vivid language.

In the rhetorical writings of Cicero — which link up closely with the greek tradition — there are frequent references to historians⁶¹. Within the overall framework of our problem a brief passage from his *De oratore* is of importance, even though it does not speak of violence: in

⁶¹ We cannot dwell here on the complicated question of Cicero's ideas on historiography in general; for these must be deduced from a number of brief remarks that can only be shown to advantage through a careful analysis of content and context. I will confine myself here to those statements that have a direct bearing on our present subject. For a full discussion see the recent studies of K. E. PETZOLD, *Cicero und Historia*, *Chiron* 2 (1972), p. 253-276; Elisabeth RAWSON, *Cicero the Historian and Cicero the Antiquarian*, *JRS* 62 (1972), p. 33-45; B. SHIMRON, *Ciceronian Historiography*, *Latomus* 33 (1974), p. 232-244; P. A. BRUNT, *Cicero and Historiography*, in ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΠΙΝ. *Miscellanea ... E. Manni*, Roma 1980, p. 311-340; C. M. J. SICKING, *Lucianus, Cicero en de theorie van de geschiedschrijving*, *Lampas* 19 (1986), p. 199-207; and the literature cited by these authors.

II 62-64 Cicero puts into the mouth of Antonius a kind of concise methodology of history, called *munus ... oratoris*⁶². The 'fundamentals' are: do not distort or omit any truth; avoid bias (§ 62). He then discusses, successively, the material and formal aspects (§§ 63 and 64, respectively). Under the *rerum ratio* he first mentions chronological and geographical information, and then the elaboration of the facts:

and since, in reading of important affairs worth recording, the plans of campaign, the executive actions and the results are successively looked for, it calls also, as regards such plans, for some intimation of what the writer approves, and, in the narrative of achievement, not only for a statement of what was done or said, but also of the manner of doing or saying it (*in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo*), and in the estimate of consequences (§ 63 — transl. E. W. Sutton-H. Rackham).

Although there is no explicit mention of violence, it is striking how he emphatically calls for a detailed account of the facts.

In the *Orator* Cicero distinguishes several literary genres from oratory (§§ 62-68); of history he says that it is most closely related to epideictic speech, for the historian too writes in an ornate language and regularly describes a landscape or a battle; yet each employs a wholly different style (§ 66). Important in this statement is Cicero's use of *describitur*: for *descriptio* is the Latin technical term for an excursus in which an author can spotlight his literary talents (corresponding to the Greek ἐκφρασις found in works on rhetoric). Cicero, then, holds that battles, like descriptions of places, are dealt with by historians according to the rules of *descriptio*.

In the well-known letter to Luceius (*Ad fam.* V 12), in which Cicero urges his correspondent to write the history of his consulate, the attractiveness of a vivid account is also pointed up. A description that arouses in the reader a feeling of pity gives special pleasure (*etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda*, V 12.5); by way of example Cicero refers to an account of the death of Epaminondas on the battlefield.

This recognition of an occasion for literary adornment in, e.g., battle accounts, however, does not automatically mean that Cicero expects historians to make such scenes more lively with fictitious details. Indeed, in another context he refers in passing to the treatment of Themistocles'

⁶² See on this text A. D. LEEMAN, *De geschiedschrijving in Cicero's De oratore*, *Lampas* 17 (1984), p. 248-253.

death by rhetors and by Thucydides. From this text it appears that orators, for the sake of sensation, are permitted to deviate somewhat from the truth (the celebrated statement: *concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius*, *Brut.* 42-43); Thucydides, however, did not do so. Nor does Cicero himself defend such an approach for a historian, as a close reading of the passage and its context makes clear⁶³. Elsewhere too, for that matter, he emphasizes more than once the importance of veracity for the historian.

A truly extensive review of a historian is the *De Thucydide* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek rhetorician who lived in Rome in the Augustan period⁶⁴. His discussion of Thucydides is to be situated in the context of a rhetorical debate as to whether that writer should be included among the authors to be recommended to aspiring orators as examples worthy of emulation. Accordingly, most attention is devoted to the historian's style⁶⁵.

As to content Dionysius objects, *inter alia*, to the arbitrary and unequal treatment of battles or captures of cities. Now they are related in detail, now they are sketched fleetingly or merely mentioned (§§ 13-15):

Having often been compelled to write of the capture, overthrow, and enslavement of cities, and other similar disasters, he sometimes makes the

⁶³ See P. A. BRUNT, *art. cit.* (n. 61), p. 331-332, and more in general: Cicero emphasizes the necessity of looking after the style, but only in the service of the truth. Cf. B. BOYANCÉ, *Sur Cicéron et l'histoire (Brutus, 41-43)*, *REA* 41 (1940), p. 388-392.

⁶⁴ A good status quaestionis of the modern studies on Dionysius' historiographical theory and practice is provided by H. VERDIN, *La fonction de l'histoire selon Denys d'Halicarnasse*, *AncSoc* 5 (1974), p. 289-307, esp. p. 289-294 (he notes the evolution from a very negative to a more positive appraisal). For his critical works the following are of particular importance: S. F. BONNER, *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A Study in the Development of Critical Method*, Cambridge 1939; G. KENNEDY, *o.c.* (n. 54), p. 342-363; further D. A. RUSSELL, *o.c.* (n. 59), p. 52-54; K. SACKS, *Historiography in the Rhetorical Works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Athenaeum* N.S. 71 (1983), p. 65-87; C. SCHULTZE, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his Audience*, in *Past Perspectives. Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing* (edd. by I. S. MOXON - J. N. SMART - A. J. WOODMAN), Cambridge 1986, p. 121-141, esp. p. 124-128 (his views on 'historical method'). See also the literature cited in n. 65 below.

The problem of the chronology of Dionysius' critical works — dealt with at length in most of the cited studies — cannot be discussed here as it is of minor importance for the subject of the present paper.

⁶⁵ A recent translation with commentary is that of W. K. PRITCHETT, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: On Thucydides*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1975, from which the quoted passages have been taken. On p. XXII-XXXIV the author offers a considered appraisal of the work («Dionysius as a literary critic in the *De Thucydide*»): the most short-sighted critiques are the result of Dionysius' rhetorical training and his concerns as rhetorician. Further literature is provided on p. 149-151.

sufferings appear so cruel, so terrible, so pitious (ποτὲ μὲν οὕτως ὥμὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ οἰκτῶν ἄξια φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν τὰ πάθη) as to leave no room for historians or poets to surpass him. And then again he represents them as so insignificant and so slight, that the reader receives not an inkling of the terrors (*De Thuc.* 15, I p. 347.15-22 Usener-Radermacher — transl. W. K. Pritchett).

From the context it is clear that Dionysius prefers the more detailed approach; this is quite evident, for that matter, from his comments somewhat further (§16 beginning); a more cursory treatment he finds justified in certain specific circumstances⁶⁶.

As to style Dionysius discusses a number of principles and then adduces examples of successful and less successful passages. He is very laudatory on Thucydides' account of the final naval battle at Syracuse (VII 69.4-72.1), which he quotes in nearly five Teubner pages (§26) and then says:

Now to me these and similar passages appeared worthy of emulation and imitation, and I am persuaded that the elevation, elegance, forcefulness, and other qualities are exhibited in these works in their highest perfection (*De Thuc.* 27, I p. 371.1-5 Usener-Radermacher — transl. W. K. Pritchett).

Other texts further reveal Dionysius' views on such elaborate battle accounts, also in historians. In *De imitatione* 3 Philistus' style is condemned as μικρός and ταπεινός: above all, says Dionysius, in his digressions with geographical descriptions, land and sea battles, and foundations of cities (μικρὸς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς κομιδῇ ταῖς ἐκφράσεσιν ἥτοι τόπων ἢ ναυμαχιῶν ἢ πεζῶν παρατάξεων ἢ οἰκισμοῦ πόλεων, II p. 209.7-10 Usener-Radermacher)⁶⁷. In comparison with the preceding text, this passage makes it even clearer that Dionysius thought it proper for a historian to treat such material in considerable detail and to lavish much care on its elaboration (ἐκφραστις). In his own historical work, for that matter, Dionysius dwells at length on this question, and most manifestly

⁶⁶ See F. W. WALBANK, *History and Tragedy* (n. 26), p. 230, and H. STRASBURGER, *Wesensbestimmung* (n. 2), p. 72-73: the examples of Plataea, Mytilene and Melos given by Dionysius are in our eyes not so much emotional, but rather graphic. F. W. WALBANK ascribes the Greeks' sensitivity to vivid descriptions to their custom of declaiming historical works before an audience. Cf. also W. K. PRITCHETT, *o.c.* (n. 65), p. 64-65 (*ad loc.*); C. SCHULZE, *art. cit.* (n. 64), p. 127.

⁶⁷ See also, though less clearly formulated, *Ad Pomp.* 5.6 (II, p. 244.1-4 Usener-Radermacher), where Dionysius, as he himself says, quotes the passage from *De imitatione* in which this statement appears (see however n. 68).

so in his so-called second prooemium (*Ant.* XI 1). He renders his point of view in the following terms:

For most people are not satisfied with learning this alone from history, that the Persian War, to take that as an example, was won by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who in two battles at sea and one on land overcame the barbarian at the head of three million troops, though their own forces together with their allies did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand; but they wish also to learn from history of the places where those actions occurred, to hear of the causes that enabled those men to perform their wonderful and astonishing exploits, to know who were the commanders of the armies, both Greek and barbarian, and to be left ignorant of not a single incident, one may say, that happened in those engagements. For the minds of all men take delight in being conducted through words to deeds and not only in hearing what is related but also in beholding what is done (ἡδεται γάρ ἡ διάνοια παντὸς ἀνθρώπου χειραγωγούμενη διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκούουσα τῶν λεγομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὁρῶσα) (*Ant.* XI 1.2-3 — transl. E. Cary).

A similar reasoning will be found in *Ant.* VII 66.3, where he draws special attention to the fact that he will dwell not only on battles, which is quite normal, but also on matters of internal politics.

Besides this idea, which Dionysius shares with other rhetoricians and critics, we also find a highly remarkable pronouncement on Thucydides in his tract *Ad Pompeium*, § 3. In a rather comprehensive discussion of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus, and Theopompus (§§ 3-6), Dionysius accuses Thucydides of not having chosen a good subject for his work: while Herodotus deals with the heroic deeds of the Greeks in the Persian Wars, Thucydides relates the disastrous and unfortunate war of Greeks against Greeks, a subject better not talked about (II p. 233.2-234.4 Usener-Radermacher). By portraying down to the last detail the defeat of the Athenians he behaves unpatriotically (ἡ δὲ Θουκυδίδου [*scil.* διάθεσις] αὐθεκαστός τις καὶ πικρὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τῆς φυγῆς μνησικακοῦσα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα ἐπεξέρχεται καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς, II p. 238.17-20 Usener-Radermacher)⁶⁸. This verdict — which takes no account whatsoever of historical sense or truthfulness or the deeper

⁶⁸ Dionysius announces this whole discussion of five historians as a quotation from his earlier work *De imitatione*, of which only fragments have survived (the relevant passage is a summary). A close analysis by K. SACKS, *art. cit.* (n. 64), p. 66-74, shows, however, that the text was thoroughly revised for the later work and adapted to Dionysius' new insights. The idea under discussion here does not appear in the summary of *De imitatione*.

meaning of Thucydides' work — has given Dionysius a bad reputation among modern critics. For our own inquiry it is most interesting to note that the same Dionysius, who recommends battles for lengthy and detailed telling, would here prefer to avoid such scenes because they clash with patriotic (in casu pro-Greek or pro-Athenian) sentiments. Does this mean that the detailed account must be combinable with heroization in order to achieve the desired literary effect?

A very remarkable work, finally, is the *Περὶ ὕψους* by an unknown author, probably dating from the first half of the 1st century A.D., which discusses how a writer can achieve, in certain places of a work, exceptionally successful passages. The role of imagination, of pathos and of various stylistic categories (vocabulary, figures of speech, composition) is examined⁶⁹. Several times examples are given of descriptions of violent events in historical works.

In §25 the author praises the vividness of a passage in Xenophon's account of the battle of Cunaxa in the following terms:

To represent past events as present is to turn a narrative into a thing of immediate urgency. «A man who has fallen under Cyrus's horse and is being trampled strikes the horse in the belly with his sword. The horse, convulsed, shakes Cyrus off. He falls». (So Xenophon). This is common in Thucydides (transl. D. A. Russell).

In his discussion of hyperbole the author adduces as good examples of its use two battle accounts, one from Thucydides and one from Herodotus. The reason why the stylistic figure succeeds in these instances is the high level of pathos present in the events narrated:

The desired effect is achieved when they are connected with some impressive circumstance and in moments of high emotion. Thucydides' account of those killed in Sicily is an example: 'The Syracusans came down and massacred them, especially those in the river. The water was stained; but despite the blood and the dirt, men continued to drink it, and many still

⁶⁹ The most important editions are H. LEBEGUE, *Du sublime* (Collection des Universités de France), Paris 1952²; D. A. RUSSELL, «Longinus». *On the Sublime*, Oxford 1964 (this edition followed here). Important literature: W. BÜHLER, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Schrift vom Erhabenen*, Göttingen 1964; G. KENNEDY, *o.c.* (n. 54), p. 369-377; K. KLEVE, *Longinus — Too good to be a Rhetorician?*, *SO* 55 (1980), p. 71-74; D. A. RUSSELL, *o.c.* (n. 59), p. 54-55. The translation cited is that of D. A. RUSSELL, «Longinus». *On Sublimity*, Oxford 1965.

fought for it'. It is the intense emotion of the moment which makes it credible that dirt and blood should still be fought for as drink. Herodotus has something similar about Thermopylae: 'Meanwhile though they defended themselves with swords (those who still had them), and with hands and mouths, the barbarians buried them with their missiles'. What is meant by fighting armed men with mouths or being buried with missiles? Still, it is credible; for we form the impression that the hyperbole is a reasonable product of the situation, not that the situation has been chosen for the sake of the hyperbole (§ 38.3-4 — transl. D. A. Russell).

Although in this work too attention is not devoted separately to historiography, the inclusion of historical texts as examples still shows that in the eyes of critics, and presumably also of the authors themselves, the literary aspect played a role in historical works as well.

The several rhetorical and critical texts we have surveyed clearly reflect one and the same attitude, even though not all discuss the same aspects equally precisely and elaborately. Historians are expected to relate a battle or the capture of a city at length and in great detail and with special attention for style.

In a number of passages we again encounter the terminology we already met when discussing the dramatizing historians and Polybius: ἐνάργεια and ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγειν. Now, however, it is not linked — except indirectly in Cicero — with the pursuit of truth; only its literary effect is considered. This can, of course, be explained by the fact one is dealing with literary critiques and rhetorical theories. Yet it is striking that no particular link is laid between the amount of the suffering described or the exceptional historical importance of the event and its detailed telling, as could be seen in the dramatizing historians and Polybius, respectively. In these rhetorical texts, only the theme's suitability for the achievement of literary effect seems to be of weight. Battles or the taking of cities are thereby mentioned alongside topographical descriptions, foundations of cities, etc., and the only difference appears to be that the theme of violence is most apt to yield a literary gem, an ἔκφρασις.

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* * *

Let us round off this survey of reflections on the rendering of violence in ancient historiography with the statements of two authors who were familiar, either directly or indirectly, with most of the viewpoints discussed and partially fused them. Plutarch, in his *Vitae* and his

Moralia, more than once mentioned this theme, and Lucian treated it in his treatise *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*. Their synthesis can form a finishing point of our inquiry, although, of course, later authors were also confronted with the same problem and obliged to take their stand on it.

Plutarch's originality in his *Vitae* has often been minimized and his own contribution reduced to the mere collation of biographies by his predecessors; recent research, however, esteems more highly his wide reading and his original historical work⁷⁰. This naturally implies a more independent attitude on his part toward problems of theory and substance.

We find in Plutarch a number of statements on historians that are wholly in keeping with the already noted critical and rhetorical works. This is not surprising, as he must have been familiar with this tradition and as he himself wrote about literature in several of his treatises⁷¹. His critiques, too, appreciate vividness and other purely literary qualities in accounts of battles, campaigns and wars.

Plutarch begins his life of Nicias with a discussion of the historians who have already related the Sicilian expedition in order to indicate that he does not want to rival their work:

I must therefore at once, and in all modesty, entreat my readers not to imagine for an instant that, in my narration of what Thucydides has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety (αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικώτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλώτατος γενόμενος), I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydides in skill, and to make Philistus seem altogether tedious and clumsy, pushes his history along through the conflicts and sea-fights and harangues which those writers had already handled with the greatest success, showing himself ... (*Nic.* 1.1-2 — transl. B. Perrin).

⁷⁰ On Plutarch's value as an historian see C. THEANDER, *Plutarch und die Geschichte*, *Bull. Soc. roy. de Lund* 1950-1951, p. 1-86; M. PLEVOETS, *Over de historische methode van de biograaf Ploutarchos*, diss. Leuven 1959; Ph. A. STADTER, *Plutarch's Historical Methods. An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1965; J. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Het gebruik en het belang van de primaire bronnen in de historische methode van Plutarchus*, diss. Leuven 1977; D. A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch*, London 1973, esp. p. 100-142; A. WARDMAN, *Plutarch's Lives*, London 1974, esp. p. 153-196. For the Roman lives see also C. B. R. PELLING, *Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives*, *JHS* 99 (1979), p. 71-96; ID., *Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source-Material*, *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 127-140; and ID., *Plutarch and Roman Politics*, in *Past Perspectives* (n. 64), p. 159-187.

⁷¹ See the recent study of L. VAN DER STOCKT, *Plutarchus over het verschijnsel literatuur*, diss. Leuven 1983, with status quaestionis p. ix-xv and an extensive bibliography.

Thus he lauds the well-wrought accounts of both Thucydides and Philistus. And his treatise *De gloria Atheniensium* — which deals with the question whether the Athenians' renown was due to their military and political or to their cultural achievements — praises the same qualities in Thucydides (*Mor.* 346F-347C)⁷². Plutarch starts from the similarity between a painter and an author and comes to the conclusion that

the most effective historian is he who, by a vivid representation of emotions and characters, makes his narration like a painting (τῶν ἱστορικῶν κράτιστος ὁ τὴν διήγησιν ὥσπερ γραφὴν πάθει καὶ προσώποις εἰδωλοποίησας) (347A).

The example he selects is Thucydides:

Assuredly Thucydides is always striving for this vividness (τὴν ἐνάργειαν) in his writing, since it is his desire to make the reader a spectator, as it were, and to produce vividly in the minds of those who peruse his narrative the emotions of amazement and consternation (ἐκπληκτικὰ καὶ ταρακτικὰ πάθη) which were experienced by those who beheld them (347A).

As concrete examples he describes the battle off the coast of Pylos in which Brasidas was wounded (*Thuc.* IV 10-12) and the last naval encounter at Syracuse (*Thuc.* VII 69-72); he then continues:

Such a description is characterized by pictorial vividness (γραφικῆς ἐναργείας) both in its arrangement and in its power of description (347C — transl. B. Perrin)⁷³.

The surprising conclusion — wholly in keeping with the spirit of the treatise — is, however, that one cannot compare a historian or a painter with a general, and that writers owe their own worth to the renown of the deeds they relate. Still, the characterization of Thucydides' accounts — especially those of battles — as vivid is in itself a positive evaluation

⁷² See on this work J. L. JOHNSON, *Plutarch. On the Glory of the Athenians: a Re-assessment*, diss. Los Angeles 1972. Against the negative opinions of earlier studies (e.g. K. ZIEGLER, art. *Plutarchos*, in *RE* XXI, 1951, col. 726) he views the tract in a more favourable light.

⁷³ Compare the detailed analysis of the passage by L. VAN DER STOCKT, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 92-99: the μίμησις-doctrine for historiography as set forth here by Plutarch is a combination of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas, on which Plutarch takes up a personal position; the concurrence of his verdict on Thucydides with that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the choice of the same example is probably not coincidental.

which is somewhat obscured by the context. But it is only a stylistic quality, and as such implies no verdict on historical reliability⁷⁴.

A similar characterization appears in Plutarch's discussion of Xenophon's account of the battle of Cunaxa in his life of Artaxerxes:

Now, since many writers have reported to us this battle, and since Xenophon brings it all but before our eyes (Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος ὄψει), and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle (ἐφιστάντος ἀεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν) as though it belonged, not to the past but to the present, it would be folly to describe it again (*Artax.* 8.1 — transl. B. Perrin).

In what follows he indeed speaks only of a number of detached aspects of the event. Thus he gives, besides Xenophon's version of Cyrus' death, a summary of Ctesias' account: it is a quite circumstantial tale with plenty of blood and adventure (*Artax.* 11). Plutarch's comment at the end at once shows that he is less appreciative of such an approach:

such is the story of Ctesias, in which, as with a blunt sword, he is long in killing Cyrus, but kills him at last (*Artax.* 11.6).

One quite plainly recognizes in these discussions the terminology also used by the proponents of dramatization in historiography and likewise found in rhetors and critics in their pronouncements on battle accounts in historical works. Plutarch too values vividness, detail, expressiveness, and the effect they have on the listener. But the latter text would seem to suggest that he does not go as far as the dramatizing historians criticized by Polybius. For he appears to set limits. He says so quite clearly in several other passages, in which he condemns exaggerated dramatizing and the invention of untruths, just like Polybius.

Such criticism he levels at Duris of Samos, who had described how Pericles, after the taking of Samos, cruelly punished the guilty commanders by having them bound to a kind of pillory for ten days and then

⁷⁴ This is also stressed by L. VAN DER STOCKT, *o.c.* (n. 71), p. 99. A. WARDMAN, *o.c.* (n. 70), argues that Plutarch does admire this quality in historians, but does not aspire to it himself, since virtue recommends itself (p. 25-26); stylistic *aemulatio* is in Plutarch's eyes always a trivial pursuit (p. 155-156). The latter trait is also noted by L. VAN DER STOCKT, *o.c.*, p. 98-99: he points out that Plutarch is in this respect in contradiction with Dionysius. On the problem of the correctness of the data on Samos, see P. KARAVITES, *Enduring Problems of the Samian Revolt*, *RhM* N.F. 128 (1985), p. 40-56.

having their brains bashed in. To prove that this story is a fabrication, Plutarch adduces the argument that it does not appear in Thucydides, Ephorus or Aristotle. He characterizes Duris' tale in the following words:

Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy (τούτοις ἐπιτραγῶδει)... At all events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians (*Per.* 28.1 & 3 — transl. B. Perrin).

Whether the arguments invoked are sufficient to brand Duris' version as untrue is a problem that need not be treated here; the text in any event testifies to Plutarch's disapproval of Duris' 'tragic' approach. We find that he rejects melodramatic scenes and that the component truth plays a role in his conception of history⁷⁵.

This is also quite clear in the treatise *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* by that 'hack' Lucian, which was written — or so he says in his introduction — in reaction to the wave of aspiring historians who would write the history of the Parthian Wars. Far from wanting to compete with them, he would rather offer some advice to prevent historical works from becoming empty rhetoric. Principles and method will therefore be discussed. G. Avenarius's thorough study has shown that these 'theories' are not Lucian's original thoughts, but that they do closely reflect a *communis opinio* on historical writing among the intellectuals of his day⁷⁶. Since no ancient treatise on historiography has survived, this

⁷⁵ Plut., *Per.* 28 was already dealt with in the discussion of Ephorus, above n. 17. See further *Alex.* 75.3: «these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action» (on the death of Alexander; transl. B. Perrin); *Them.* 32.3: «and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated» (transl. B. Perrin); in these texts, however, violence is not an issue.

Cf. A. WARDMAN, *o.c.* (n. 70), p. 168-179 («Tragedy and Tragic History»), esp. p. 173: «These considerations make it highly improbable that Plutarch intended to compose his *Lives* (whether all or some only) as tragedies. In his view this would have meant using the sensationalism and pathos of 'tragic history', a form of writing which he found repugnant». Compare, however, his interpretation of the life of Demetrius (p. 176) with that of C. B. R. PELLING, *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 138.

⁷⁶ G. AVENARIUS, *o.c.* (n. 10): his search for 'antecedents' of the various theses of Lucian yielded a valuable collection of pronouncements on historiography; his conclusion (p. 166-178) is that Thucydides was directly consulted for the work, but that for the rest it consists

work is of considerable value as a complement to the innumerable dispersed remarks in the historians. In the same sense it is an interesting document for the more concrete problem occupying us in the present paper. But we may not lose sight of the fact that this treatise is of a casual nature and, in the final analysis, a piece of satire: generalizations, clever wordings and exaggerations follow in quick succession; in addition, it is closely bound up with the political and cultural climate of Lucian's time, and with the role played by certain rhetors-historians⁷⁷.

On the one hand, we find in Lucian pronouncements that underscore the significance of the stylistic elaboration of land and sea battles. For him too they form the obvious subjects for stylistic showpieces. Thus in his discussion of the historian's language and style (§§ 43-48) he says:

For his language this should be the first aim: to set forth the matter exactly and to expound it as lucidly as possible; let his mind have a touch and share of poetry, since that too is lofty and sublime, especially when he has to do with battle arrays, with land and sea fights; for then he will have need of a wind of poetry to fill his sails and help carry his ship along, high on the crest of the waves. Let his diction nevertheless keep its feet on the ground, rising with the beauty and greatness of his subjects and as far as possible resembling them, but without becoming more unfamiliar or carried away than the occasion warrants (44-45 — transl. K. Kilburn).

One recognizes in this text an idea also expressed by Demetrius, *De elocutione* 75-76, that battles constitute a sublime topic for a writer. The warning against contrived and bombastic language is already found in Agatharchides⁷⁸.

On the other hand, Lucian warns, like Plutarch, against exaggerated

of commonplaces that the author remembered from his school days (ideas of the Isocratic 'school', of 'tragic' historiography, of Polybius, etc.). Cf. Helene HOMEYER, *o.c.* (n. 10), esp. p. 60-62: she is more vague as to the precise provenance of the ideas. Cf. also W.O. SCHMITT, *Bemerkungen zu Lukians Schrift 'Wie man Geschichte schreiben soll'*, *Klio* 66 (1984), p. 443-455.

⁷⁷ The light-hearted, yet 'diatribic' character is emphasized in particular by Helene HOMEYER, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 16-29, in reaction to Avenarius. The cultural and political background is discussed by B. BALDWIN, *Studies in Lucian*, Toronto 1973, p. 75-95 (V. «Clio dethroned»); L. CANFORA, *Teorie e tecnica della storiografia classica. Luciano, Plutarco, Dionigi, Anonimo su Tucide*, Roma-Bari 1974, p. 14-20; and W. O. SCHMITT, *art. cit.* (n. 76), esp. p. 453-455.

⁷⁸ See G. AVENARIUS, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 65-66 and 140-142; Helene HOMEYER, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 257-258: she sketches in a nutshell the entire tradition of battle accounts in theory and practice. For Demetrius and Agatharchides see above, p. 234-235 and 220-222.

pathetic scenes with invented details. He offers several examples of such reprehensible passages:

Well, this man I mentioned described incredible wounds and monstrous death, how one man was wounded in the big toe and died on the spot, and how Priscus the general just gave a shout and twenty-seven of the enemy fell dead. And in the number slain he even contradicted the officers' despatches with his false figures (§ 20 — transl. K. Kilburg).

A few paragraphs further on he summarizes one historian's version of the death of Severianus: he did not want to die by the sword or by poison, but chose a more dramatic end (τινα θάνατον τραγικόν); he cut his own throat with a sherd from a large cristal drinking bowl (§ 25); after his funeral a centurio held a pompous oration (to rival Thucydides' *Epitaphios*) and committed suicide on the grave. Lucian's sarcastic commentary ends thus:

I blamed him most for dying without first cutting the throat of the historian who staged the show (§ 27)⁷⁹.

In a different context he even underlines that, in relating a battle, the historian must always keep sight of the whole, and divide his attention over both parties; a concrete detail concerning a single combatant may only be given if an exceptionally important person is involved:

In the engagement itself let him not look at a single part or a single cavalryman or foot soldier — unless it be a Brasidas leaping forward or a Demosthenes beating off his attempt to land; but first, the generals ..., the plan, method, and purpose of their battle array ... (§ 38 — transl. K. Kilburg).

Very interesting are, finally, his observations on the historian's veracity. After pleading for a historian with experience in military matters, who is familiar with the terminology and understands the events (§ 37), he emphasizes that the author must be fearless, so that nothing can prevent him from telling the whole truth: by way of example of what may not be withheld, he offers precisely two violent acts. He must talk of the cruel murder of Clitus by Alexander; and he may not let himself be kept by Cleon or all of Athens from relating the fatal outcome of the Sicilian expedition:

the disaster of Sicily, the capture of Demosthenes, and the death of Nicias, the thirst of the troops, the sort of water they drank, and how most of them were slain as they drank it.

⁷⁹ See Helene HOMER, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 218-219 and 227-231.

Thucydides could easily have distorted the facts in his history; but a historian may only tell things as they were (§38). Even clearer than in Περὶ ὕψους 38 is the reaction here against the disapproval of Thucydides' gripping tale of the disastrous end of the Sicilian expedition, as found in quite general terms in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ad Pomp.* 3)⁸⁰. A historian may not allow himself to be guided by patriotic feelings.

Both Plutarch and Lucian show that the viewpoint we have found expressed in rhetorical and critical writings was a current one: sieges and battles are topics that the historian elaborates into stylistic showpieces. But they qualify this principle: the pursuit of a literary effect may not lead to exaggeration, to the fabrication of fictitious details, or to melodramatic scenes (and this includes other violent events). In Lucian, finally, the interesting thought was found that, conversely, such acts of violence should not be hushed up, even though they might jar the 'patriotic feelings' of the author or of potential readers.

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* * *

At the close of this lengthy series of pronouncements on the relating of violence let us, in conclusion, look back briefly upon the whole and survey the different attitudes toward violence we have encountered. These cannot be grouped into separate 'schools', but must be regarded as different approaches which can appear simultaneously.

A particularly conspicuous feature of the texts discussed is that so many of them stress the *literary effect* of accounts of violence. Insofar as we are dealing with rhetorical and literary treatises, such emphasis is to be expected: battles, sieges of cities, etc., are recommended therein as topics particularly suited to stylistic exhibition, and such passages in historical works are lauded because they are especially successful from that viewpoint. But also in writings concerned mainly with historiography considerable attention is devoted to this component⁸¹. Both Plutarch

⁸⁰ See Helene HOMER, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 244-247. See further for Ps-Longinus above, p. 240-241 and for Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ad Pomp.* 3, above p. 239-240.

⁸¹ Here, of course, we are dealing with an aspect that is a characteristic of ancient historiography in general: it was considered one of several literary genres, and language and style were always of great importance along with the contents. This means that this aspect must be given due attention in any interpretation of an ancient work of history, since it is one of the major means by which the author expresses his thoughts and his attitude. The same is, obviously, valid for battle accounts. Yet in view of the findings of the present paper, one must consider that, when precisely battles and sieges are recommended as topics perfectly suited for the showing off of a writer's literary gifts, an author can be tempted to stylistic excess without its implying a specific viewpoint on the subject at issue.

and Lucian appreciate lively accounts in which the listener/reader becomes a spectator. According to the interpretation one attaches to the ἡδονή-component in Duris' instructions for the dramatization of history, he pursues a greater or smaller literary effect, with the qualification that vividness takes precedence over stylistic refinement. Finally, we find that Polybius leaves room for the literary element as long as the historical value of the work is not compromised (no fictitious details, literary elaboration only of important events). Violence clearly appears to be a literarily attractive subject!

The literary aspect, however, is not the only one referred to in the texts. Polybius reveals a profound concern for the *historical element*: descriptions of battles or sieges must, just like any other topic, be elaborated in keeping with their historical importance. Insignificant facts thus require no circumstantial telling, while major battles with far-reaching consequences are dealt with in detail. But even then most attention must go out to the planning and strategy: that this aspect enjoyed Polybius' particular interest is obvious each time a battle is discussed; the literary polish serves mainly to keep the reader's attention from flagging. The same thoughts are found in a weaker form in Lucian.

In a somewhat isolated text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus an idea is expressed that may be of more importance than one might think at first glance. He reproaches Thucydides for devoting too much attention to a catastrophic war and to the suffering of his fellow citizens (he is thinking in particular of the Sicilian expedition). Dionysius seems here to be objecting mainly to Thucydides' unpatriotic behaviour: he slanders his fellow Athenians. If we reverse this criticism, Dionysius would appear to expect a battle account to be coupled with the arousal of a triumphant feeling, i.e. a *patriotic component*. Presumably that component also plays a part in the rhetorical writings that demand so much attention for accounts of battles: the element 'vividness' was probably attended therein too by an identification on the part of the reader with the victorious army. For one of a rhetor's more important tasks was to compose eulogies for triumphant generals or emperors. The vehement reaction of Lucian, who advocates an impartial presentation of wars by the historian (whether the outcome was favourable or not) suggests that historians too — albeit perhaps the minor figures — sometimes got carried away by patriotism.

A remarkable finding is that only very few texts display any *sensibility toward suffering caused by violence*. Such an attitude is found in a few authors who prefer for moral reasons not to give details of violent

events; Ephorus and Isocrates take this stand, but the tendency did not survive into later times.

It is possible that such a sensibility led a number of writers to try to arouse pity in their readers or audience, e.g. by describing the miseries of the vanquished after a city was taken. For the viewpoint of some historians who opted for dramatization in history is: reveal the underlying truth through vivid description, and in a positive interpretation of this position that underlying truth encompasses above all human suffering (e.g. as a result of violence). These high-minded motives diluted rapidly in practice, however, so that this higher objective was overlooked and only the effect upon the reader deemed important. In this way the arousing of pity became less a sensibility to than an exploitation of human suffering for the sake of literary effect. Detailed accounts inducing emotion among the public, then, serve only to enhance the persuasiveness of the text (in rhetoric) or the literary force of a passage (also in historical writing).

A method that would consist in the portrayal of the horrors of war in full detail, precisely in order to denounce them, is nowhere dealt with in such general terms. A 'theory' or theoretical discussion to that effect is not attested.

From the texts there emerges an ancient historiography in which ample attention is devoted to the violent component in the material. Though historical considerations play a role here, the innate aptitude of violent scenes for the achievement of a literary effect appears to have been of greater importance. For violence as a problem there seems to have been little room in the psychology of the ancient historians we have discussed.

It is clear that the present view will presumably require some changes or adjustments, once the *practice* of relating violence has also been studied, since some authors deviate in their work from the theoretical considerations set forth here⁸². Still, the texts assembled already provide a good picture of the concepts that lived among historians and their audiences in the period examined.

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⁸² Thus Thucydides, for instance, is already a significant exception, since he appears in several passages to be denouncing the atrocities of war precisely by describing them in detail: see e.g. the studies of H. STRASBURGER, H.-P. STAHL, P.R. POUNCEY and J. MALITZ, all cited in n. 2. This matter will be dealt with at length in a confrontation of Herodotus and Thucydides in my doctoral dissertation (cf. n. 9 above).

THE RHETORIC OF PLUTARCH'S *PERICLES*

A. W. Gomme has written that the *Pericles* is «the most complex and interesting» of the fifth-century *Lives* — «perhaps the most interesting of all.»¹ What made it interesting to Gomme was the opposition between the views of Thucydides and Plato concerning Pericles, which Plutarch did not have the means to resolve. «His only solution,» Gomme concluded, «is that there must have been a radical change in Perikles' method of conducting public affairs, amounting practically to a change in his character: he was first a demagogue, then a true leader of the people. Hence the structure of the main part of the *Life*, which centres around this μεταβολή.»² Gomme's view has been an influential one, yet I believe it seriously distorts both Plutarch's own opinion of Pericles and the means by which he presented his understanding of him in his biography.

This paper will argue that Plutarch's biography of Pericles is substantially determined in structure and presentation by the goal he set himself and the means of persuasion or rhetoric which he chose to effect it. It will consider first the general similarities between the goals of epideictic oratory and of this biography, then examine in turn the form, mode of argument, structure, and techniques employed by Plutarch in the *Pericles* to persuade his reader. In each case, I believe that rhetorical considerations have played a prominent if not overwhelming part in determining Plutarch's presentation.

While the nature of his sources undoubtedly constrained the form and content of his *Lives*, rhetorical theory and practice represent a significant yet neglected element in Plutarch's biographical technique. Plutarch was an experienced essayist and public speaker long before he undertook the series of *Parallel Lives*. Although he seems never to have desired the role of rhetor or sophist, training in rhetorical practice was a pervading feature of his age. His works show a thorough knowledge of rhetorical teaching, though he tends to avoid technical vocabulary.³ Among the lost works of Plutarch listed in the Lamprias catalogue we find three

¹ *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I, Oxford 1945, p. 65.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ See R. JEUCKENS, *Plutarch von Chaeronea und die Rhetorik*, Strassburg 1907, esp. p. 100-181; and K. ZIEGLER, in *RE* XXI 1 (1951), col. 928-938 = *IDEM*, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia*, Stuttgart 1949, p. 291-301.

books *On Rhetoric* (# 47). His extant works show that he was able to exploit the techniques of rhetoric to convey his moral or philosophical positions. These techniques are found not only in such «juvenalia» as the speeches *On the fortune of Alexander* or *On the fame of the Athenians*, but in other apparently more mature works, and are especially evident in the polemical writings, for instance the *Malignity of Herodotus* or *Against the Stoics*. Plutarch's complaint against the rhetoricians echoed that of Plato in the *Gorgias* centuries before: a philosopher could not accept their emphasis on form over content. However, if the truth and moral value of discourse could be preserved, he accepted, as did Plato in the *Phaedrus*, and even encouraged the use of rhetoric to win conviction. Plutarch, though a philosopher, found no difficulty in recommending to a politician striving to serve his city in the noblest manner to use rhetoric as a *συνεργὸς πειθοῦς* (*Praec. reip. ger.* 801C ff.). It is natural that he himself used rhetoric similarly in the *Parallel Lives*.

Epidictic, or the discourse of praise or blame, was recognized as one of the three species of rhetoric by Aristotle and all later theorists, such as Quintilian and Menander Rhetor.⁴ It was used on such occasions as funeral speeches, laudations of cities or famous men, or attacks on political or personal enemies. Insofar as biography could be considered a written encomium (or occasionally, vituperation) of famous men, it then would be considered a branch of epideictic.⁵ In fact, praise represents a major element of the *Pericles-Fabius* pair, as Plutarch himself reveals in his preface to the set (*Per.* 1-2). The most suitable activity of the mind, Plutarch writes, is to contemplate actions by which it will be directed toward and strengthened in virtue. The only appropriate actions to contemplate are those which are themselves the product of virtue. His purpose in these two lives, therefore, will be to present the deeds of his subjects in such a way as to evoke from the

⁴ Cf. G. KENNEDY, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*, Princeton 1963, p. 152-154; T.C. BURGESS, *Epideictic Literature*, in *Studies in Classical Philology* III, Chicago 1902, p. 89-261; V. BUCHHEIT, *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos epideiktikon von Gorgias bis Aristoteles*, Munich 1960. Ancient sources include Aristotle, *Rhetoric* I 3.1-6; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* III 7; pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Art of Rhetoric*; and Menander's two treatises on epideictic. Pseudo-Dionysius and Menander are now available with translation, commentary, and an excellent introduction on epideictic practice and theory (p. xi-xxxiv) in D.A. RUSSELL and N.G. WILSON, *Menander Rhetor*, Oxford 1981.

⁵ On the close relationship of encomium, biography, and history when treating statesmen, cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Development of Greek Biography*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1971, p. 82-83; and for Plutarch in particular, D.A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch*, London 1973, p. 104-105.

reader a decision (*proairesis*) to imitate the virtue which they have shown. Here Plutarch's goal of awarding praise to a man so as to elicit admiration and emulation is very similar to that of the encomium, though with the addition of a protreptic purpose more characteristic of deliberative oratory.⁶

Nevertheless, Plutarch is prevented from accepting a purely encomiastic mode of biography by his respect for truth, understood both as the historical record of the past and as the moral values which he wishes to impart. His purpose is not the triumph of a moment, but an invitation to virtue. For this reason his view of the proper qualities to praise differed from the normal rhetorical *topoi*. He writes in his essay *On self-praise* (*Mor.* 543A-D) that we should not praise someone simply because he is a good speaker, wealthy, or powerful, but because he is a good person, hurts no one, or helps the city. That is, we should praise not the gifts of fortune, but the use that one makes of them. Pericles' words on his deathbed, Plutarch argues there, provide a model for the true orator. As his friends gathered around, the dying statesman asserted that his greatest glory lay not in his many victories, but in the fact that he had never risked Athenian lives (cf. *Per.* 39.8). In the same way, the orator should praise not the skill in speaking of a statesman but his life and character, not the experience and good luck of a general, but his self-restraint and integrity. Moreover, unlike the encomiast, Plutarch accepted that his hero had failings, as all men do.⁷ The *Life of Pericles* is in fact our richest source for Pericles' faults as a statesman, or at least for the accusations which were made against him. Nevertheless, these faults do not dominate the general picture. As Plutarch explained in the preface to *Cimon-Lucullus*:

Just as painters of gracious and beautiful subjects are expected neither to omit nor to be excessively precise in drawing some small unattractive feature, ...so also (since it is difficult if not impossible to set forth a

⁶ For the close connection of epideictic and deliberative oratory, between praise of a person or action and advice to imitate, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 9, 1367b36-1368a9. The same kind of exhortation is found in funeral speeches (e.g. Pericles' Funeral Oration) in combination with the encomiastic *topos* (see ps. Dionysius, *On Epideictic Speeches* 280), as well as in other encomia (cf. the exhortation to imitation in Isocrates' *Evagoras* 74-75, and Socrates' advice at the end of his encomium of Eros, Plato, *Symposium* 212B 1-7). Deliberative is combined with epideictic as well in such speeches as Isocrates' *Panegyricus*: cf. E. BUCHNER, *Der Panegyrikos des Isokrates: Eine historisch-philologische Untersuchung*, Wiesbaden 1958, p. 7-8.

⁷ Cf. e.g., *Per.* 10.7: πάντη μὲν ἴσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω.

human life which is absolutely blameless and pure)...the errors and vices arising from emotion or political necessity should be considered rather as failings of virtue than as evidence of vice. They should not be described too enthusiastically and completely in the narrative, but rather with a certain shame for human nature, that it cannot provide a character totally and unambiguously directed toward virtue (*Cim.* 2.3).

Plutarch's vision as philosopher and moral counselor precludes the fulsome praise expected in *encomia*. Nevertheless, the professed goal of this pair of lives and the principle of favoring virtue over failings requires that both the tone and the content of the *Pericles* be laudatory, with necessary human weakness restricted to a minor element of the whole picture. Pericles will be an object of admiration and imitation to his readers.

The particular form of the *Pericles* (and of its companion *Fabius*) is determined by the virtues which Plutarch finds in the statesman's life. They are summarized at the end of the preface: «self-restraint (*praotes*) and honesty (*dikaiosyne*), and the ability to endure the foolishness of the mass of citizens and of their colleagues in office» (*Per.* 2.5). *Praotes*, the major virtue of both men, is the mean with regard to feeling, the virtue of those who control their passions.⁸ The second clause of the quotation specifies in what regard Pericles demonstrated his *praotes*: enduring the unreasonable opposition with which others tried to block his policies. The very nature of Pericles' virtue, therefore, will require that Plutarch give special attention to his political opponents. Negative accounts and accusations which would have been suppressed in a standard encomium, and even in another biography, will have to be emphasized as evidence for the attacks which Pericles suffered. However, they are characterized as foolishness (*agnomosynas*): Plutarch has decided that these attacks, for the most part, at least, are not valid.

The rhetorical situation is further complicated by the fact that Plutarch composed his lives in pairs. The *Pericles* has its own rhetorical purpose, and therefore invention and arrangement, including for example its own epilogue (c. 39), but is also part of a book, the *Pericles-Fabius*, with a preface (*Per.* 1-2) and final *synkrisis*. For the most part I will concentrate on the *Pericles*, but the larger picture cannot be forgotten.⁹

⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* IV 5, 1125b26-1126a3; H. MARTIN, *The Concept of Praotes in Plutarch's Lives*, *GRBS* 3 (1960), p. 65-73; and P.A. STADTER, *Plutarch's Comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, *GRBS* 16 (1975), p. 77-85, esp. 81-84.

⁹ For the relation of the two lives, see P.A. STADTER, *loc.cit.* (n. 8).

As Gomme noted, the tradition concerning Pericles' achievements was ambiguous. Thucydides had celebrated his intelligence, foresight, and honesty, and later orators honored his leadership at Athens' moment of greatest power and wealth. However, the comic poets who were his contemporaries had attacked his high-handed ways and tyrannical power, mocking his relationship with Aspasia and his onion-shaped head. In the next generation, Plato attacked his demagoguery and in the *Gorgias* blamed him and the other great men of the fifth century for ruining the Athenians. Plato's condemnation remained influential throughout antiquity.¹⁰ As the centuries went by, the negative tradition repeated a host of minor objections to Pericles as man and as leader, but the major criticisms were three: 1) Pericles was a tyrant who dominated the city, in the tradition of Peisistratus; 2) Pericles was a demagogue who ruined the Athenian people by catering to their desires without thinking of their true welfare; 3) Pericles had started the Peloponnesian war to escape from political attacks on his friends.

The rhetorical problem Plutarch faced in composing this life, therefore, was how to present a view of Pericles which would excite admiration and emulation in the face of these charges, minimizing but not ignoring the objections he found in the historical and interpretive record. Since he was not writing an encomium, he could not follow the simple practice later codified by Menander Rhetor for speeches in honor of the emperor: admit nothing at all of doubtful or ambiguous nature.¹¹ His situation was in some ways closer to that of a lawyer defending a client, admitting some weaknesses, but directing the attention of the listener to the positive aspects or interpretations of his client's behavior. For this reason, the theory of judicial argumentation played its part in shaping Plutarch's approach. An important segment of Hellenistic rhetorical theory had focused on exactly this stage of composition, especially in judicial cases: the establishment of the fundamental situation or *stasis* in a particular case, which would permit the orator to decide the line of argument to be used. Hermagoras' *stasis* theory sought to aid a speaker in focusing on the most persuasive argument for a particular case.¹² *Stasis* theory was chiefly useful in judicial oratory, but Quintilian noted

¹⁰ In the mid-second century A.D. Aristides took it as a starting point for his epideictic tour-de-force, the speech *On the Four* (sc. great men attacked by Plato).

¹¹ Menander Rhetor 368.3-8 Spengel.

¹² For an overview of *stasis* theory, see G. KENNEDY, *Quintilian*, New York 1969, p. 61 ff.; and J. MARTIN, *Antike Rhetorik*, Munich 1974, p. 28-52.

that it could be applied to epideictic oratory as well (III 7.28). The various theories of stasis developed by rhetoricians became quite complex, but the basic approach is simple. By asking fundamental questions — did the action take place? (stasis of fact); what action actually took place? (stasis of definition); was it a right action? (stasis of quality) — the orator could see the case from different viewpoints. Depending on the answers, he might argue from various positions: my client didn't kill the man (fact); he did kill him, but it was an accident, not murder (definition); he murdered him, but since the man was a tyrant, it was right to do so (quality). Various writers distinguished other possible *staseis* by stressing different questions or secondary issues, but the method was similar. An inventive orator pursuing the ramifications of such questions, and combining them as need be, would have no trouble in discovering the arguments which would best suit his purpose. Quintilian notes that for epideictic speeches, which award praise or blame, the natural *stasis* is that of quality: what sort of man (god, city, animal) is the subject?

Plutarch's introduction states the general proposition that Pericles is admirable. The particular focus of both the favorable and unfavorable views of Pericles is narrower: how did he use political power? Plutarch phrases the difficulty explicitly at *Per.* 9.1:

Thucydides (II 65) ascribes a certain aristocratic method of governing to Pericles, «in theory democracy, but in practice rule of the first man,» but many others say that it was he who first seduced the people through cleruchies, theoric funds, and distributions of payments, by his policies giving them bad habits and making them wastrels instead of self-disciplined and self-supporting...

The question at stake here is not whether Pericles had power, but how he used it — the stasis of quality applied to Pericles' attitude and actions. Did he use his political power aristocratically, that is, with the best end in view,¹³ or as a demagogue?

The question is more important for the meaning of the life than its tardy and somewhat indirect statement in chapter nine might suggest, for it represents Plutarch's fundamental decision on how to approach the rhetorical problem of the *Pericles*. Plutarch had already chosen this direction for his argument when he decided to couple Pericles with

¹³ Plutarch regularly thinks of the Aristotelian definition when speaking of an «aristocratic» leader or constitution: cf. *Politics* III 7, 1279a32-1279b10.

Fabius on the basis of similar qualities, since the particular virtues which he ascribes to the pair, that is the *praotes* (self-control) and *dikaiosyne* (honesty) which they exercise in dealing with fellow magistrates and the citizen populace, have as their field of action the management of political power. In the course of the *Pericles*, Plutarch builds a persuasive case demonstrating that his subject revealed these virtues (and others as well) in his acquisition and use of power.¹⁴

The *Pericles-Fabius* pair is framed by the introduction (*Per.* 1-2) and the *synkrisis*. The introduction, as we have seen, sets the tone of the *Lives* and suggests to the reader the proper attitude toward the two men: he should expect to learn from them something about virtue which will improve his own life. The *synkrisis* focuses attention on the different manifestations of the same virtues in the two men and reiterates their particular achievements. Within this frame, the *Pericles* has its own structure, falling for our purposes (there are other types of analysis) into six sections: 1) Family, birth, physical features and intellectual influences (3-6); 2) acquisition and retention of political power (7-14); 3) use of power (15-28); 4) the great crisis: the Peloponnesian war (29-35); 5) family life, recall, and death (36-38); 6) epilogue (39). Although the first part seems to deal with standard topics, in some ways it is the most important, since it lays the foundation of Plutarch's interpretation. Its elements are standard to biography as to encomia: ancestors and parents, birth (with any omens), physical qualities, mental qualities and education.¹⁵ But Plutarch uses these topics to shape our idea of Pericles as statesman even before we consider his political career.

Pericles' father, Xanthippos, the victorious admiral at Mycale, and his great-uncle, Cleisthenes, «who expelled the Peisistratids, honorably dissolved the tyranny, gave laws, and established a constitution excellently tempered toward concord and security,» establish models for Pericles' own behaviour as general and statesman. Agariste's dream of giving birth to a lion, the symbol of courage and strength, signals his potential for greatness. The little that Plutarch knew of his physique was not helpful: his onion head was mocked by the comedians. But the passages which he cites from the comic writers on this point allow Plutarch to introduce the notion of political opposition which runs through the life.

¹⁴ The situation of the *Fabius* differs in several aspects from the *Pericles*, since the Roman did not hold the kind of power that Pericles did, did not come to it in the same way, and was not criticized after his death.

¹⁵ See e.g. F. LEO, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, Leipzig 1901, p. 180-182; Quintilian III 7.10-12; and Menander Rhetor 369.18-372.13.

The paragraphs on intellectual development which follow do not speak of Pericles' early training and education (Plutarch's usual practice), but of influences during his mature years, and stress their effect on his political behavior. Damon teaches him music, and is his coach in politics; Anaxagoras introduces him to the preeminence of mind, *nous*, and forms his character to highmindedness, sobriety, and self-control. But again there is the presence of political opposition: Damon is ostracized as *philotyrannos* — the tyrant of course was Pericles — and Pericles himself, in a vivid anecdote, is reviled by an angry citizen from the agora even to his door. Pericles, however, thanks to Anaxagoras' teaching, is calm and patient, and sends him home with an escort. The story of the one-horned ram and the confrontation of Anaxagoras and the seer Lampon again presages the political conflict which will come, and at the same time indicates Pericles' balanced attitude toward the gods: free from superstition, yet respectful.

This first section on birth and intellectual influences thus poses implicitly the underlying question of the life: was Pericles an aristocratic leader, like Cleisthenes or Xanthippus, or a perversion of that ideal, an undisciplined tyrant or self-seeking demagogue? At the same time it provides a first version of an answer: because of his philosophical training he was a high-minded and self-controlled statesman. Though both question and answer are presented indirectly, they both introduce and set the terms of Plutarch's rhetorical argument in this life. After this opening, we can no longer see Pericles as a simple demagogue.

The second section, which runs from chapters seven to fourteen, falls into two parts: 7-8, 9-14. The first introduces Pericles the politician, although in fact we know something of this aspect already through the previous chapters. Pericles was originally wary of the *demos*, we are told, and afraid of being seen as a tyrant — a rather improbable notion at the beginning of his public career, but appropriate for Plutarch's argument. In time, however, although hardly *demotikos* by nature, he allied himself with the people, taking the only means to security and power. At this point Plutarch might logically proceed to the rivalry with Cimon described in chapters nine and ten. Instead, he first inserts two paragraphs on Pericles' political conduct, both of which emphasize his aristocratic statesmanship. As leader of the *demos*, his way of life (*diaita*) is serious, focused on his duties to the city in the agora or bouleuterion, and he holds back from excessive contact both with his old friends and with the *demos* (7.5-8). Moreover, his oratory, far from being demagogic, is an

instrument perfectly suited to the greatness of his ideas. Anaxagoras and Plato witness to the philosophical underpinnings of his discourse, and the comedians to its power. Nor is he arrogant in its use: each time he ascends the *bema*, he prays that his words may fit the present need.

Like a skilled orator, therefore, Plutarch has rhetorically prepared his reader for the explicit statement at the beginning of chapter nine of the problem of Pericles' political behavior. Everything said so far has implied a positive response, and indicated that Pericles is an admirable statesman. This done, Plutarch is ready to turn to «the facts themselves,» to see whether Pericles was a demagogue or governed for the best. In fact he looks at only a few events, carefully selected, in describing his rivalry with Cimon (9-10) and with Thucydides the son of Melesias (11-14). In each case Pericles does not begin the combat, but reacts to the initiatives of his opponents in the struggle for power. When Cimon gains influence by demagoguery, freely distributing his private wealth (Plutarch says Pericles is *katademagogoumenos*!), Pericles institutes payments for public service, by which he wins political power.¹⁶ Thus armed, he weakened the Areopagus (which, since he was not a member, was a threat to his power), and ostracized his rival (9.2-5). Note that even this early in his career Plutarch considered Pericles to have extraordinary power in the assembly (τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ). After Cimon's death, Thucydides reorganized the *kaloi kagathoi* into a bloc, and first opened the deep division between *oligoi* and *demos* (11.1-3). Pericles in response began a policy of pleasing the *demos* with feasts and entertainments, paid naval service, cleruchies, and public buildings. Pericles' struggle to gain power is justified by his actions. When Cimon's supporters show their loyalty at Tanagra, Pericles is not tyrannically obstinate but himself writes the decree recalling Cimon (10.4). In addition we learn — rather to our surprise — that even earlier he had been generous to Cimon when the latter was on trial (10.6). In this context Pericles' virtue is flexibility and sensitivity in the use of power. On the other hand, in speaking of the rivalry with Thucydides, Plutarch stresses the value to Athens of the steps Pericles took to win the favor of the *demos*: the festivals were οὐκ ἀμούσοι ἡδοναί (11.4), the cleruchies relieved the poverty and restlessness of the urban poor while controlling the allies (11.6), and the building program is the lone witness

¹⁶ Here Plutarch chooses not to mention the effect of Cimon's great victories, especially at the Eurymedon, although they are given full play in the *Cimon*.

to the ancient power and wealth of Greece (12.1). Pericles' final victory over Thucydides is closely tied to the generosity and *megalophrosyne* of his offer to pay for the buildings himself (14.1). The whole section, far from being a disinterested examination of events, is an artfully presented argument proving Pericles' statesmanship and nobility even in the period when he was struggling to gain and hold power in the city, and therefore more easygoing and ready to appease the *demos* (cf. 15.1).

Having narrated and simultaneously justified Pericles' actions in winning over the *demos*, Plutarch can turn confidently to his positive portrait of the statesman. The third section (15-24) presents a synoptic view of Pericles' use of political power, seen under several headings: oratory as a didactic tool, integrity in handling money, ambition for the city (*megalophrosyne*), and caution in generalship and foreign policy.¹⁷ An elaborate nineteen-line period introduces the section, celebrating Pericles' domination of Athens and his freedom to act according to the best «aristocratic and kingly» policy, to be a true and philosophic doctor — using a Platonic image — to the needs of the city. Pericles' oratory speaks the truth for the good of the citizens, and is not an isolated technique, but firmly founded on the integrity of the speaker. Pericles' integrity was exceptional — here Plutarch uses a standard *topos* of the rhetoric of praise¹⁸ — because it was exercised when he had every opportunity to enrich himself, and this opportunity lasted so long. These facts in turn illuminate the way in which Pericles used his power. Although preeminent, he would not use his power for himself, filling his pockets with money from the city, the allies, or foreign powers (the only example Plutarch actually gives is his refusal to be bought off by the Samians and the satrap Pissouthnes, 25.2-3). The jibes of the comic poets against his tyrannical power thus become a part of the argument for his virtue: yes, he had the power, but he did not use it tyrannically — the stasis of quality. Finally, Pericles' superiority to money is demonstrated inductively by two examples: the first describes his management of his estate, in which he made no effort to turn the maximum profit; the second recognizes the difference between the proper use of wealth for a statesman and for a philosopher, and praises Pericles' use of

¹⁷ Although Plutarch does not say so explicitly, these headings seem to respond to the four points in Plato's indictment in the *Gorgias*, that Pericles made the Athenians garrulous, greedy, lazy, and cowardly.

¹⁸ Quintilian, e.g., recommends something as especially praiseworthy, *si quid ... supra spem aut expectationem [fecisse dicetur]* (III 7.16).

money to help those in need, including Anaxagoras. Not content with the virtues of aristocratic policy and fiscal integrity, Plutarch adds as well greatness of vision. The proof is again inductive: Pericles' *megalophrosyne* is demonstrated by his decree proposing the Congress at Athens. Although it came to naught, the decree indicates the spirit with which Pericles used his power.

The remainder of this section (18-28) treats Pericles' generalship, with special emphasis on his caution (*asphaleia*), seen as the corollary in war of the self-control that he had learned from Anaxagoras. This portion is elaborately introduced by a comparison — another technique common in epideictic oratory¹⁹ — to the foolhardiness of Tolmides (18). A selection of his campaigns follows, arranged not in chronological order, but as they elicited goodwill, admiration, or respect from citizens and strangers (19-20.2). As important as his campaigns was his refusal to overcommit the empire (20.3-4), saving its strength for its rivalry with Sparta (in the Sacred War and the crisis of 446, 21-22), and for controlling rebellious allies (Euboea and Samos, 23-28). His firmness as a general is complemented by his refusal to risk the lives of his fellow-citizens: when Sparta invades, he buys the king off with a well-timed bribe (22.2);²⁰ at Samos he prefers a long but safe siege to a dangerous frontal assault (27.1). Throughout he is shown using his power in the city not for self-glorification but to strengthen and protect the state. Plutarch's argument inviting us to admire Pericles' character has now reached its height: as Pericles ends his oration over the Samian dead, he is hailed joyfully as a victor.²¹ He boasted that he was superior to Agamemnon, who took ten years to conquer Troy: given the uncertainty and risk involved, Plutarch soberly concludes, «the evaluation was not unjust» (28.8).

The crisis of Pericles' political life, and the central element in Plutarch's interpretation of his character, was his leadership of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Plutarch cannot share the view of many modern historians that it was right and necessary for the war to take place, and

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 9, 1368a19-20; ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* 7.2-4 Rabe («The best starting-point for encomia is that from comparisons»); and Menander Rhetor 372. 21-25; 376.31-377.9. The *Fabius* uses the same type of internal comparison; chiefly with Minucius and Varro.

²⁰ Note also the implicit comparison with Pericles' own honesty.

²¹ Even here, however, Plutarch was aware of another side, for he certainly shared some of the sentiment of Elpinike, who compared Pericles' victory over Greeks unfavorably to Cimon's victories over the barbarians (28.6).

for Pericles to resist the last Spartan demands. From his distant perspective, it was always a mistake for Greeks to fight against Greeks, and to have urged such a war can only appear a failure of leadership.²² Thus the discussion of the various *aitiai* of the war somewhat tarnishes the image Plutarch has built so far. Yet chapter thirty, which supplements Thucydides' narrative with the account of the various stages in the diplomatic tension with Megara, does much to justify Pericles' position. In particular, Plutarch tells us that the initial decree of Pericles on the sacred *orgas* had been well-intentioned and friendly, but that a peaceful resolution of the quarrel became impossible after the Megarians were thought to have killed the Athenian herald (30.2-3). However, Plutarch remains puzzled which interpretation of Pericles' intransigence to accept: Thucydides', that surrender would have been a sign of weakness; the harsher judgment of some critics, that it showed that he was willful and quarrelsome; or the worse reason of all, that Pericles fanned the war into flames to get the people under his control once more and to stop the attacks on his friends.

Nevertheless, once the war begins, Plutarch presents Pericles' actions as wholly admirable. He was the Athenian most dangerous to the enemy (33.1-2), his foresight foiled Archidamus' plan to alienate the *demos* from him (33.3), and most important, his refusal to commit the Athenians to battle saved the city. Modifying an image of Plato, Plutarch portrays Pericles as the wise and steady helmsman refusing in a storm to listen to the weeping and prayers of the ignorant and seasick passengers (33.6, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 488A-E). A true statesman, considering only the good of his city, he endured the attacks of demagogues patiently, while providing an outlet for Athenian energy through an expedition around the Peloponnese, a cleruchy to Aegina, and an invasion of Megara. Even when the plague struck he remained calm. When finally Pericles was fined and dismissed by an angry *demos*, Plutarch sees this as evidence of the folly of his opponents, not of any weakness of his.

The penultimate section (36-38) focuses on Pericles' personal life, exploring his calmness and strength under stress. Although at home he was opposed by his son and mocked for his philosophical interests, during the plague he endured nobly the deaths of his two sons and of others of his friends and family. His return to power demonstrated the

²² Plutarch does not actually state this opinion in the *Pericles* (unless we count the words of Elpinike, 28.6), but cf. e.g. *Comp. Phil.-Flam.* 1.1-2.

value of his leadership to the city, but his major act in this period was to ask for the favor of citizenship for his bastard son, now that his legitimate heirs were dead. Death perhaps weakened his opposition to superstition, if an anecdote of Theophrastus must be accepted, but nevertheless on his deathbed Pericles was able to see his activities in true perspective: his greatest achievement, he said, was not his nine trophies, but that no citizen had ever put on mourning because of him. His self-restraint had never permitted unnecessary risk in battle to the lives of his fellow Athenians, or allowed civil strife to lead to the death of his opponents.

The life here is almost complete, having run from birth to death, and successfully demonstrated that Pericles is worthy of imitation. There is only lacking the standard summary of the reaction to his death (39.3-4). His naturally aristocratic nature, strengthened by philosophic training, has manifested itself in the virtues of self-restraint, vision, and honesty. Yet before that final paragraph, Plutarch adds an epilogue, equivalent to the peroration of a judicial speech, to complete the life and sweep his reader to conviction (39).²³ Seizing upon the comic epithet, the Olympian (already mentioned at 8.3), Plutarch sees in the name a real insight into the central quality of his hero. The method is rhetorical: the *τόπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος* known to Aristotle (*Rhet.* II 23, 1400b16).²⁴ Interpreting the title, Plutarch compares Pericles' equanimity and rule of the city for the best with the philosopher's understanding of the gods, «who govern and reign over the universe, by their very nature the cause of good, never of evil,» free of all disturbance and trouble. The comparison with the gods recalls Pericles' own words over the Athenian dead quoted at 8.9,²⁵ and is just short of claiming Pericles' apotheosis. In the closing paragraph, Plutarch notes the immediate loss felt by all after Pericles' death, which finally confirms his judgment on Pericles' exercise of power. All Athens bore witness that no one had ever been more measured in dignity and more awesome in self-restraint. What had been

²³ Cf., for example, the rules for the epilogue of an imperial encomium in Menander Rhetor 377.9-30 Sp.

²⁴ This *topos* is not uncommon in the *Lives*, e.g., the discussion of the epithet «the Just» in *Aristides* 6. The same *topos* is employed by Aelius Aristides in his defense of Pericles in *On the Four* 123-124 Lenz-Behr.

²⁵ «Pericles in praising the fallen at Samos said that they were immortal, just like the gods. For we do not see them, but we infer that they are immortal by the honors which they receive and by the good things which they bestow. This is true as well of those who die for their country.»

thought a monarchy and a tyranny was revealed the bulwark and salvation of the city.

The foregoing analysis demonstrates that in the *Life of Pericles* the arrangement of topics and events responds to the rhetorical exigencies of Plutarch's effort to persuade the reader. For the same reason, Plutarch employed standard rhetorical techniques to reinforce his presentation. The most fundamental such technique, perhaps, is the style of narrative. Aristotle notes that partial narrative (οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος) is the most appropriate to epideictic: there is no need to tell all, especially if it is already well known.²⁶ The narrative of the *Pericles* is quite consciously selective. Because of the paucity and incompleteness of sources, even in antiquity, for events of the fifth century, Plutarch's narrative is necessarily lacunose. But it is selective also in the mode of narration and presentation of events: disjointed episodes are included to illustrate particular situations, but there is no chronological narrative in the ordinary sense until Chapter 22, the revolt of Megara and the Peloponnesian invasion.²⁷ Cimon's ostracism was preceded by a courting of the *demos* and attacks on the Areopagus (9.2-5), but Plutarch does not attempt in this life to narrate these events, or relate them to Cimon's naval triumphs, his disgrace at Ithome, or other internal political tensions. Pericles fought at Tanagra (10.1-2), but we are not told what his policy was, or how it happened that the Athenians were fighting. The peace which Cimon negotiated with Sparta is passed over in a phrase (10.4), and nothing is said of Pericles' thoughts with respect to Cimon's last expedition. There is in fact no narrative of the rivalry with Thucydides, except the statements that the oligarchic faction was more strongly organized, and opposed the building program. Major events known from the historians are passed over, most notably the Egyptian campaign. The Congress Decree (17) and the campaigns of chapters nineteen and twenty are not set in any chronological context. Extreme selectivity is apparent even in his most detailed narrative, the first years of the Peloponnesian War: the narrative is not told for itself, but to illustrate Pericles' role in the outbreak of the war and his management of the *demos* once it had begun. Larger strategic perspectives are left aside — for example, the careful financial accounting in

²⁶ Aristotle, *Rhet.* III 16, 1416b16-17.

²⁷ See in general on the lack of chronological organization in the *Pericles* before chapter 22, W. STEIDLE, *Sueton und die antike Biographie (Zetemata, 1)*, Munich 1951, p. 153-166.

Thucydides II 13 or the historian's discussions of naval versus land power — to concentrate on a few basic points. Thucydides was fascinated by Pericles' *gnome*: Plutarch sought evidence for moral virtues, for *praotes* and *dikaiosyne*.

The use of *kata meros* narrative and the particular *stasis* of the *Pericles* help to explain the difficulty scholars have had in analyzing the structure of the *Life*. Although there are traces of chronological sequence — birth, entry into politics, rivalry first with Cimon, then Thucydides, Samian War, Peloponnesian War, death — the rhetorical structure is more important. Gomme's division between the demagogic Pericles in 9-14 and the aristocratic in 15-39 misses the pro-Periclean bias of 9-14. Steidle's division between internal politics (7-17) and foreign policy (18-39) is more accurate, but does not bring out either the unity of 15-21 or the way both elements are combined in the account of the Peloponnesian War.²⁸

Aristotle noted that amplification, *auxesis* was especially appropriate to epideictic oratory (*Rhet.* III 17, 1417b31-32). Once the simple fact had been stated, it was desirable for an orator to elaborate it so that the audience could appreciate its importance and be convinced of the speaker's evaluation. The *Pericles* contains many such passages: the account of Anaxagoras' thought and its effect on Pericles (4.5-5.1), the description of Pericles' oratory, ornamented with quotations from Plato and Aristophanes (8.1-4), the exaltation of Pericles' aristocratic rule (15.1-3), and the dramatic depiction of his holding fast against the mob who wanted to fight the Spartans (33.4-8). The most impressive undoubtedly is the section on the Acropolis buildings (12-13), which starts from what might have been a minor item, similar to the list of cleruchies, but takes on a life and force of its own. Here we see amplification indeed functioning as proof: what began as an item in a list of demagogic measures becomes a testimony to Pericles' vision and aristocratic concern for the city.²⁹ The first overwhelming sentence, seventeen lines long (12.1-2), reminds us of the grandeur of the buildings and depicts the irate opposition. Pericles' masterful reply in the follow-

²⁸ A.W. GOMME, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 65-67; W. STEIDLE, *op.cit.* (n. 25), p. 161. However, Plutarch's gathering of Pericles' campaigns into one sequence may have been influenced by the standard division in encomiastic theory between deeds in peace and deeds in war. Cf. e.g., Menander Rhetor 372.25-27. Menander, however, recommends that military actions be placed first.

²⁹ Note the importance of the building program in Plutarch's final comments on Pericles at the end of the *synkrisis*, 3.7.

ing period culminates in the stunning list of trades and classes of workmen which would be employed on the buildings. Next the speed of construction and the beauty of the buildings are described with awed admiration. Finally the works themselves are listed one by one, from the Parthenon to the Propylaia and Parthenos statue. Plutarch does not attempt a standard *ekphrasis* of any of these works, but rather lets their acknowledged excellence speak for itself.

Rhetoric, as Plutarch advised his friend Menemachus in the *Advice on Politics*, is not the creator of persuasion, but only an assistant to character, which must be the fundamental agent (*Mor.* 801CD). *Ethos*, the character of the speaker and of the client or person spoken of, was important also to the rhetorician. Plutarch's biographies portray *ethos*, but they also employ it as a means of persuasion. Plutarch first of all reveals his own character, establishing himself as a man of virtue, humane, understanding yet willing to make judgments on people, a teacher yet still learning. In the *Pericles* this *ethos* is found most obviously in the introduction (1-2), but it is felt throughout the work. Often he asks us to share his values, as when he cites Zeno on appearing virtuous (5.3), talks of omens from the gods (6.4-5), or notes that true virtue is revealed in daily life (7.6). Elsewhere he wants us to share his indignation at Idomeneus, the comic poets, or Stesimbrotus (10.7; 13.16). But always the biographer's presence is felt, establishing a familiarity with his readers which certainly must be one of the reasons for his success.

This *Life* is meant to portray the *ethos* of Pericles, but it also uses his *ethos* to convince us of the truth of the portrait. Thus the importance of the early chapters on the influence of Anaxagoras, which serve to establish a preliminary notion of Pericles' character. This notion, once accepted, then helps us interpret his other actions. Plutarch can argue that it was simply a temporary expedient when Pericles sought popular support, since «he was not democratic by nature» (7.4), or that he could not have killed Ephialtes, for «he had nothing raw or brutal in him» (10.7). Later the image of self-restraint which has been built up is transferred to his activity as general, and helps the reader to understand and accept Plutarch's admiration when he refuses to fight.

The more explicit appeal to the emotions recommended by rhetorical theorists, *pathos*, may be found as well, in its proper place in the epilogue.³⁰ Here the expression of wonder (Θαυμαστός οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ...,

³⁰ Cf. Quintilian VI 2.20, and the comments of G. KENNEDY, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*, Princeton 1963, p. 93-94.

39.1) and divine calm overwhelm the reader, already reeling from the pathetic narrative of the deaths of Pericles' children and his appeal for citizenship for his bastard son (36.7-9; 37.5).

I noted initially that a central difficulty for Plutarch in writing the *Pericles* was caused by the hostile opinions of contemporaries and of later writers, especially Plato. Plutarch offset much of this criticism by the very virtue he ascribed to Pericles: *praotes*, or remaining calm in the face of emotion and unreason. Thus he was able to categorize many of the contemporary attacks as examples of emotional excess, which only made Pericles appear more virtuous the stronger they were. See for example his comments on the occasion of the Spartan invasion of 431:

[Pericles] pursued his own thinking, scorning those who were shouting and complaining. Yet many of his friends begged and urged him, many of his enemies threatened and accused, and comic choruses sang songs and made jokes to shame him, insulting his generalship as cowardly and giving the initiative to the enemy (33.6-7).

But it is useful as well to examine how he refuted other attacks, beginning with the most influential, Plato's.

Plato's opinion, expressed most forcefully in the *Gorgias*, was well-known: «Pericles made the Athenians lazy, cowardly, talkative, and greedy, when he first established pay for public service» (*Gorg.* 515E). Plutarch, however, chooses to begin from the *Phaedrus*, quoting, without naming the source, Plato's somewhat ironic words on Anaxagoras' influence on Pericles, and crediting to that influence the austere nobility he sees in Pericles (5.1, cf. *Phaedr.* 270A). In chapter eight he returns to the same passage for Plato's statement on the exalted (*hypselsonous*) oratory of Pericles, making Plato an admirer of the philosophical element in Pericles' discourse. In chapter nine, when he finally makes explicit the accusations of the *Gorgias*, he suppresses Plato's name and authority. However, in chapter fifteen he once more uses the *Phaedrus* passage — and Plato's name — to identify Pericles' rhetoric as true *psychagogia*, based on a knowledge of the intimate workings of the soul. Moreover, Plutarch uses the Platonic images of the philosopher-statesman as doctor (15.1; 34.5; 35) and helmsman (33.6) to describe Pericles, implicitly assimilating Pericles to the Platonic ideal of a statesman. Plutarch thus refutes the Platonic judgment by emphasizing the positive assessment in the *Phaedrus* and by asserting that Pericles in fact accomplished what Plato asked of his philosopher-king: to guide the people

with firm knowledge, using rhetoric to lead less gifted men to right opinion and right action.

It is noteworthy that Plutarch, despite his positive view of Pericles, records more hostile and disparaging statements about him than does any other author. Plutarch did not disdain facts. He was willing to admit that Pericles could have faults (cf. 10.7), and he liked to report contemporary testimony. He was also confident that he could refute false or misleading statements. Sometimes he simply reinterprets an attack to become a compliment, by showing, e.g., the value of Pericles' «demagogic» measures against Thucydides (11-13), the justice of his boast that he was better than Agamemnon (28.7-8), or the propriety of his refusal to fight (33.4-8). His treatment of the allegations concerning Aspasia, on the other hand, show a classic misdirection and false dichotomy: after beginning with Aspasia's persuasion of Pericles to start the Samian War, he asks why this woman had so much influence on the leading men and philosophers of the day (24.2).³¹ The problem of Pericles' relationship is soon narrowed to two choices: some say that he sought her political wisdom, others that he was truly in love. In either case a potentially scandalous relationship is drawn back within acceptable limits of behavior.

Some statements clearly hostile to Pericles Plutarch treats as objective facts: that he had a deformed head, or a private hostility toward Megara. Many he reports but chooses not to respond to, trusting to the larger context to put the matter in perspective: thus he does not defend the ostracism of Cimon, but stresses Pericles' willingness to make peace with Cimon after Tanagra. He does not justify the loss of Megara in 446, the inadequate force sent with Lacedaemonius, or the harshness of the citizenship law. On other occasions he will argue from necessity: at the beginning of his career, for example, Pericles had the choice either to risk ostracism as a potential tyrant or to win support. But the conservatives already supported Cimon, therefore it was necessary for him to go to the *demos*. Again, it was necessary for him to oppose Thucydides if he wished to survive politically. The argument from probability is used in the form of an enthymeme at 10.7 to disprove Idomeneus. Idomeneus accused Pericles of murdering Ephialtes, but Ephialtes had been his friend and co-worker. Pericles spared even his rival Cimon, therefore it

³¹ Note that he also places Aspasia's relation to Pericles in the context of two other extraordinary women who influenced political leaders, Thargelia and Aspasia the concubine of Cyrus (24.3, 11-12).

is impossible that he killed a friend. The reasoning is then confirmed by a reference to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*.

Plutarch is at his most effective in refuting a statement by attacking its author. Ion of Chios said that Pericles was servile and arrogant: but Ion «always expected virtue, like a tragic performance, to have some satyric element» (5.3). The comedians gossiped of his affairs with married women: «but who can wonder that these men who were given to debauchery would offer their slanders against their betters in sacrifice to the envy of the crowd, as if to an evil spirit, when even Stesimbrotus of Thasos dared to report against Pericles an extreme and disgusting wrong toward his daughter-in-law?» (13.16). The rhetorical question here shows high indignation, as earlier in his response to Idomeneus. Plutarch is especially disgusted by Duris' account of the brutal punishment given the Samian trierarchs (28.2-3). For refutation he appeals to other authorities — Thucydides, Aristotle, and Ephorus — but he also attacks Duris personally, as a writer who «never is able to keep his narrative truthful, even when no personal feeling is involved, and here seems to have magnified his country's sufferings to slander the Athenians.»

An examination of the *Pericles* does not reveal that Plutarch is a rhetorician instead of a biographer. His respect for the individual historical details gathered in his reading and his philosophical outlook, which emphasized moral values and moral truth over pure desire to convince, kept him from writing an encomium of Pericles, noting no flaws, and using all the *topoi* of praise catalogued by the rhetoricians and practiced by contemporary orators. Nevertheless, Plutarch intended to persuade as well as to inform. He wished his reader to admire Pericles as a man of virtue despite individual facts and influential opinions to the contrary, and he used the devices of rhetoric to persuade his readers. Careful selection of narrative, arrangement by rhetorical effectiveness rather than simple chronology, rhetorical amplification, appeal to the emotions, and ridicule of opposing views all support the biographical goal of presenting the *ethos* of his subject.³²

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³² This paper has profited from the comments of Prof. D.A. Russell, who kindly read an early draft, and of those present when a version was given at the University of Liverpool (April 1983) and before the International Plutarch Society (December 1985).

RHETORIC, WRITING AND PLUTARCH

«When I was young, scholars wrote history,
and gentlemen wrote biography»
— Arnaldo Momigliano

Formerly, there has been much scholarship concerned with Plutarch's proper place among historians,¹ if indeed he deserved one. Ian Worthington,² for example, has recently called into question Plutarch's value as a source; H.H. Scullard³ would deny Plutarch the rank of historian, yet his textbook shows a heavy reliance on the *Roman Lives* and *Natural Questions*. The practice is not new: Rousseau viewed even the *Lives* primarily as a treasure trove for moral *dicta*. Subsequently, Plutarch's central place in the transmission of Platonism in the early empire has been investigated more rigorously by several leading authorities on ancient philosophy, such as Babut, Baldassari, Dillon, Hershbell, H. Martin, and Sandbach.⁴

Plutarch as a stylist has not received very much attention, other than some general remarks by D.A. Russell,⁵ among a few others.⁶ Much of the scholarly literature has, on the whole, considered style as somehow subordinate to the essay or life under investigation. There is much which can be done to discern and delineate Plutarch's attitude towards and use of rhetoric, and thereby establish his place as a major literary stylist, and not just as an historical and ethical thinker. Recent work by Habicht,⁷ has made a beginning toward reading Pausanias' account for the pleasure of its organization and narrative in addition to its content. The

¹ A preliminary version of this article was presented as a response to the paper given by Philip Stadter on «The Rhetoric of Plutarch's Pericles» at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Society in Washington, D.C. December 1985. The author wishes to thank all who attended the session for their helpful comments.

² *Plutarch 'Demosthenes' 25 and Demosthenes' Cup*, *CPh* 80 (1985), p. 229-233.

³ *A History of the Roman World*, London 1935, p. 410.

⁴ Bibliography of these eminent scholars, among others, is obtainable from the Resource Center of the International Plutarch Society (Department of Classics, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio 45207 U.S.A.).

⁵ See two books by D.A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch*, London 1973, p. 21-28; and *Greek Declamation*, Cambridge 1983, p. 3, 18, 42 *et passim*.

⁶ See, e.g., C.P. JONES, *Plutarch*, in *Ancient Writers II*, ed. by T. James LUCE, New York 1982, p. 961-983; and R.H. BARROW, *Plutarch and his Times*, Bloomington 1967.

⁷ *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1985, esp. p. 1-28.

text of Plutarch, especially given his critique of Stoic rhetoric in three essays in the *Moralia*,⁸ deserves to be read and examined as a literary classic. His own extensive quotations from tragedy and comedy show Plutarch to have been an able and aware critic, as do his works on Homer, Menander and Aristophanes, and Herodotus.⁹

Its importance cannot be underestimated — of all the biographers, epitomizers, writers of *exempla*, and essayists, Plutarch is nearly the only one to be read in the original with any consistency, and pleasure. One should concur with the literary judgement of Lord North since his was an age where historical verity or utility was not the sole or even most prominent criterion. One might otherwise have a translation of Valerius Maximus, or Florus, or Velleius Paterculus from his hands, and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, if based on Suetonius, would have been a wholly different work.

It is not, however, easy to establish Plutarch's beliefs. His relationship with contemporary or near-contemporary writers and literary trends is problematic: although he is writing so close to the traditions of the Second Sophistic and neo-Atticism,¹⁰ he seems to have stayed free from their influence. Further, the other important writers in Greek during the second century were born, or were very young, during the Hadrianic Renaissance in Greece;¹¹ Plutarch is alone among the major figures to have been in his mature years at the time. The other important philosophers of his generation and slightly earlier who wrote in Greek, such as Epictetus and Musonius, and who would have developed a definition of rhetoric, were living in Italy. They would, thus, not have been exposed to the cultural stimulus of the return of prosperity to the Greek homeland, even though they were writing in the same philosophical and linguistic traditions as Plutarch.

⁸ *De Stoicorum repugnantiis* (1033A - 1057C), *Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere* (1057C - 1058D), and *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* (1058E - 1086B).

⁹ See William C. HELMBOLD and Edward N. O'NEIL, *Plutarch's Quotations*, Oxford 1959; and D.A. RUSSELL, *Criticism in Antiquity*, London 1981. Plutarch's attack on Herodotus, if sensible in many respects, has not generally found approval, presumably solely because it is unfavorable; cp. P.A. HANSEN, *De Herodoti Malignitate*, Amsterdam 1979; and J.W. BOAKE, *Plutarch's Historical Judgement, with Special Reference to the «de Herodoti malignitate»*, Diss. Univ. of Toronto 1977.

¹⁰ See D.A. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n.5), p. 18; and J.R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch «Alexander»: A Commentary*, Oxford 1969, p. xvi.

¹¹ See Averil CAMERON and Susan WALKER (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, London 1987.

Sadly, scholars are better informed about Plutarch's relationship to contemporary Roman writers and political figures than to his own countrymen. A read of R.H. Barrow's *Plutarch and his Times*¹² is sufficient to illustrate the point. There is an indication in the «Life of Demosthenes» that Plutarch read and spoke Latin with some facility, which is amply demonstrated by his use of at least forty Roman sources in his *Lives*, according to Hamilton,¹³ although there is, naturally, a greater reliance on Greek authors. Plutarch's relationship to first century A.D. Roman philosophers and rhetoricians, such as the younger Seneca and Quintilian, has not been satisfactorily determined. No quotations from these authors survive in Plutarch's corpus, nor can their influence be traced. If Fornara is correct in linking Plutarch to the panegyricists, encomiasts and mendicant biographers,¹⁴ then the avoidance of current rhetorical and philosophical thought must be deliberate, although inexplicable.

If Plutarch's definition of rhetoric cannot be fathomed from comparison with that of colleagues, one is further hampered since Plutarch nowhere clearly enunciates his view. There are many passages in which he reacts to Stoic and Epicurean theories, but there is not a positive statement of his own theory and its proper application. Certain pedagogical essays, such as «*De liberis educandis*», «*Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*», and «*De recta ratione audiendi*», afford a glimmer, but that is all. The scope of the term «rhetoric», and its near equivalents, in antiquity was in itself controversial, and a consensus was never achieved. The word was used to describe the craft of the orator, the series of tropes and tricks available to the writer, a single division of the «liberal arts»,¹⁵ or one of the components of dialectic.¹⁶ Variations in usage seem to exist even within the *Moralia*, dependant, in part, upon whether the material under discussion is philosophical-ethical or political-historical-biographical.

¹² *Supra* n.6; cp. p. 12-20 («Plutarch at Home») and 36-51 («Plutarch Abroad», «Plutarch, Roman Literary Society and the Emperor»); also C.P. JONES, *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford 1971.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (n.10), p. xliii.

¹⁴ *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkeley 1983, p. 186-187.

¹⁵ This is, in essence, the definition which was forwarded by Isocrates and accepted through the Middle Ages. It was Eliot who first saw its inherent ambiguities; see Peter Dixon, *Rhetoric*, London 1971, p. 1.

¹⁶ See esp. James GOLDEN, *Plato Revisited: A Theory of Discourse for All Seasons*, in *Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse*, edd. by Robert J. CONNORS, Lisa S. EDE and Andrea A. LUNSFORD, Carbondale 1984, p. 32.

There were also competing schools of rhetoric, that is, rhetoric characterized as the orator's art, which George Kennedy has admirably shown in his book on *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*.¹⁷ Some of the early writers and thinkers on rhetoric are imperfectly known, or are known primarily through refutations of their work by subsequent writers. Although their impact on Plutarch cannot be measured, they should not be over-looked, as Plutarch shows many times that he is aware of very early material.¹⁸ It is a relevant point, since one can see that Plutarch has at least accepted the Aristotelean terminology for rhetoric, if not all of its premises, and one is convinced of his familiarity with Isocratean rhetoric and Stoic theory. The loss of three works on rhetoric and style by Plutarch, if the date and accuracy of the Lamprias catalogue is to be trusted, must be keenly felt.

Plutarch's views would probably have made it possible to reconstruct the Platonic theory of rhetoric in detail. A limitation to the close elucidation of Plutarch's style is the absence of any unified doctrine by Plato. His vision has been assembled from passages in the *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, especially the second speech of Socrates, and the *Cratylus*, where the distinction between true and false speech is propounded,¹⁹ although there is still considerable debate among scholars, as is amply demonstrated in books by Connors-Ede-Lunsford, Erikson, and Grube.²⁰ It is instructive to compare Plutarch's attitudes to Plato's whenever relevant material is extant from both authors: Plutarch's two *symposia* are clearly meant to be derivative and further elaborations of Plato's work of the same title. The results of such few comparative studies as have been made show that Plutarch is not a slavish echo of the Academy.

Russell's statement that Plutarch fought the Stoics and Epicureans «with Platonic substance and Aristotelian terminology»²¹ is not entirely accurate for all of the *Moralia*. Some of the Platonic dogma has been clearly altered in the *consolationes* and the essays on education and

¹⁷ Princeton 1963.

¹⁸ So, for example, Plutarch in his anti-Stoic polemics attacks the old, and inflexible Stoa, and completely ignores the Middle Stoa, as humanized by Seneca; cp. HERSHBELL's three articles in *ANRW* II 34-35.

¹⁹ See especially contributions by Rollin W. QUIMBY, Paul FRIEDLÄNDER, and W. M. PFEIFFER, in *Plato: True and Sophistic Rhetoric*, ed. by Keith V. ERICKSON, Amsterdam 1979.

²⁰ *Supra* nn. 16 and 19; cf. G.M.A. GRUBE, *Plato's Thought*, Indianapolis, Ind. 1980.

²¹ *Op. cit.* (n.5), p. 84.

rearing children, presumably in reaction to the eclecticism of the first century B.C., as well as the closing of the ranks of several of the schools against Epicureanism. The implication is clear: just as one sees some independence in Plutarch's thought, so too one should expect it in his style and use of rhetoric, and, by extrapolation, in his use of historical sources and material; Frost²² and Stadter²³ have correctly realized that an examination of Plutarch's biographies must start with an assessment of his rhetorical and philosophical aims. Followers of the Academy were doubtless more desirous than adherents of the other schools to explore other genres and write well, since Plato's prose was held in high esteem in antiquity for its literary merit.²⁴

Part of the problem for Plutarch, as he himself was aware,²⁵ was the decline of judicial and deliberative oratory (that is, rhetoric) in the first century A.D. and the capitulation of the philosophers to the practical rhetoricians in setting the curriculum of the «seven liberal arts». ²⁶ One might posit that epideictic oratory increased in the Roman Empire in proportion to the accelerating loss of importance of the Senate, the main arena for deliberative oratory, and the over-shadowing of public courts by imperial dispensation of justice through rescripts. Scholars have detected,²⁷ however, that Plutarch effectively used the oratory of an advocate in the *Lives*. Examples also proliferate in the *Moralia* which indicate that Plutarch was skilled in presenting *suasoriae* and *controversiae*;²⁸ the titles of several essays make it clear that they were conceived as debates, arguing two or more positions. Plutarch's education must have, therefore, been along the traditional lines, and one can see in the acrimonious debates between Domitius Afer and Seneca and

²² Frank J. FROST, *Plutarch's «Themistocles»*, Princeton 1980.

²³ Stadter's views are enunciated in *AncSoc* 18 (1987), p. 251-269, and in his forthcoming book on Plutarch's «Life of Pericles».

²⁴ See D.A. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n.5), p. 63, who says that «Plato, alone among the founders of the schools, was a literary classic.»

²⁵ See, e.g., the constitutional essays in the *Moralia*, such as «*An seni respublica gerenda sit*», «*Praecepta gerendae reipublicae*», and «*De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucorum imperio*».

²⁶ See M.I. FINLEY, *The Use and Abuse of History*, New York 1975, p. 199-200. Much of the best evidence for the change in relative importance of the various branches of oratory is late, such as the work of Menander Rhetor, and, therefore, suspect.

²⁷ See, e.g., P.A. STADTER, *supra* n. 23.

²⁸ The speeches in the «*De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, libri ii*» have been examined by J.R. HAMILTON, *op. cit.* (n.10), p. xxiii-xxxiii; and E. BADIAN, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind, Historia* 7 (1958), p. 425-444.

in the licence allowed to the Stoic opposition by Vespasian that judicial and deliberative oratory were practiced with vigor during Plutarch's lifetime.²⁹

Momigliano's statement, quoted at the top,³⁰ presumes a distinction between historians and biographers according to social class, and also, by implication, according to seriousness of purpose. Judging by this canon, apparently accepted by Fornara,³¹ Plutarch would be lumped with Suetonius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustorum* on the basis of genre. The seriousness of Plutarch's approach to style and rhetoric in the *Lives* raises their tone and intent to the level of the best Roman and Greek formal historians. The genre is not in doubt, even Plutarch calls himself a biographer;³² it is the professionalism with which he approached his task that has been questioned. One can expect little direct help from Plutarch here since his work is marked by a great personal modesty.

The number of sources he uses and how he uses them has been one indicator, although there has not been unanimous agreement, and the study still continues.³³ An alternative approach would be to see how Plutarch might define his aims in a work, how lofty those aims are, and whether he achieves them.

In his «*Life of Pericles*» Plutarch asserts that the proper use of rhetoric is «to enlighten the soul» (15.4-5) and that the goal of biography is *mimesis* (1.4), that is, the ability to motivate young men to follow outstanding examples. Plutarch's aims and goals in the *Lives* have long been admitted; while the *Moralia* have long been considered his notebooks. One should recognize that the *Moralia* were also composed to instruct men and women in virtue (*aratea*). This is stated in the early chapters of the *Mulierum virtutes*³⁴ and is confirmed by the public letter format of the *Consolatio ad uxorem*, as detected by H. Martin and J.E. Phillips.³⁵ The letter, as written, could have provided little immediate

²⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* IV 52.66; XIV 19. For Helvidius Priscus: *Histories* IV 4-8.

³⁰ Taken from *The Development of Greek Biography*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1971, p. 1.

³¹ *Supra* n. 14. Social class is not a suitable distinction for antiquity since almost all chroniclers, with exceptions such as Velleius Paterculus and the authors of the *Bellum Hispaniense* and the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, tended to come from the propertied class.

³² *Pericles* 15.4-5.

³³ For a recent review of some of the scholarship, see B. SCARDIGLI, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs: Ein Forschungsbericht*, Munich 1979; and the review by PELLING, *JRS* 72 (1982), p. 216-217.

³⁴ See P.A. STADTER, *Plutarch's Historical Methods*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1965, p. 125.

comfort, nor could it have preceded Plutarch's return from Tegea to Chaeronea by very much. It is explicable, and persuasive, however, if understood as the reasoned reflections of someone who saw the potential of even bereavement in forming and testing one's character (*ethos*).³⁶

Hamilton, as others before him, have remarked that Plutarch, if he formally classed some of his works as biographies, all of his writing must belong to the category of *paideia*.³⁷ It is on this distinction that Plutarch as a biographer, and as a humanist, must be judged. One must resist the temptation to assert that Plutarch added the weight of his own considerable prestige to the obsequious biographers of the later Roman Empire. Correspondingly one should remain sceptical of over-systemitized schema which attempt to fix any individual too tightly into a perceived progression of a genre. For biography seemed to have two co-temporaneous tracks: one was the popularizing entertainments, typified by Suetonius, and reaching as far back as Callimachus. Plutarch is writing in the tradition of Theophrastus's *Characters*, and in reaction to its Aristotelean basis. A Stoic theory of biography, or use of the genre for their own proselytization, seems implicit in Lucan's long sketches of Pompey and Cato in the *Pharsalia*,³⁸ which amplifies upon the pamphleteering of Cicero and Caesar after Cato's death. The amount of space Plutarch dedicated to Alexander lore seemingly answers Stoic claims for whom Alexander, as Herakles, was so much grist for their mill.³⁹

Plutarch, thus, and Suetonius's chatty disquisitions have little to do with each other.⁴⁰ In the end neither strand of the tradition was productive. Later authors were unable to sustain the kind of research which even Plutarch found difficult to continue.⁴¹ Without Plutarch's

³⁵ *Consolatio ad uxorem* (*Moralia* 608A - 612B), in *Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* 4 (1978), p. 394-441.

³⁶ On the ability to shape and change one's *ethos*, see Christopher GILL, *The Question of Character-Development: Plutarch and Tacitus*, *CQ* 33 (1983), p. 469-487.

³⁷ *Op. cit.* (n.10), p. xxxviii *et passim*.

³⁸ See esp. books 2 and 9 (Cato), and 7 and 8 (Pompey).

³⁹ Again, Lucan's treatment of Alexander, contrasting him with Caesar, in Book 10, is illustrative.

⁴⁰ Plutarch realized the need for different standards in his comparison of Pericles' use of his land and Anaxagoras': «The life of a speculative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman» (*Pericles* 16.6). As both a philosopher and an office holder, Plutarch's judgement carries weight.

⁴¹ *Pericles* 13.11-12.

keen eye and philosophical underpinnings, they could do nothing other than founder. The claim, then, for the validity of Plutarch's *Lives* should not be proper historical method, but rhetoric, and one's assessment then should be on the writing. On both counts Plutarch earns maximum marks.

POSTSCRIPT

THE CHANGING TERMS OF THE DEBATE

It was Eliot who observed that «rhetoric is one of those words which it is the business of criticism to dissect and reassemble».⁴² Twentieth century critics have heeded his advice greatly, and the numerous, competing definitions of rhetoric, with all their covert or declared biases, pose a problem for the modern researcher. The difficulty of application is compounded since many of the current theorists do not have an appropriate facility with the classical languages. Mediterranean archaeologists and historians, however, have successfully absorbed and transformed the language and postulates of anthropology, mythology, and new world archaeology to their disciplines. The imposition of modern rhetorical standards and attitudes (so Edwin Black⁴³ asserts that «Plato considered rhetoric to be the consolidation of dialectic and psychology») on the classical rhetoric of Plutarch by young investigators has made a proper interpretation of the *Lives* and *Moralia* treacherous, but not impossible.

One need not mention the negative connotation under which the word «rhetoric» has been laboring since at least the early seventeenth century, when Brathwait could say of an unsuccessful work that «Heere is no substance, but a simple piece/of gaudy Rhetoricke», and Thomas Fuller (1642) could condemn rhetoric as «the mother of all lies».⁴⁴ Such a perception has impeded an appreciation of classical rhetoric. Modern theorists, such as I.A. Richards and Edward P.J. Corbett⁴⁵, both strongly under the influence of Bertrand Russell and the psychologists, have changed the terms of the debate to the extent that it may be impossible to define classical rhetoric much less understand it in its own context. A series of essays dedicated to Corbett and edited by several of his students⁴⁶ shows how far theory has moved away from Aristotle and the other ancients. Andrea Lunsford and Lisa Ede, in a contribution to the volume entitled «On the Distinctions between Classical and Modern Rhetoric» (p. 37-49), argue strongly that modern rhetoric stands in opposition to ancient theory, and is clearly superior to it. It might be useful to schematize their presentation:

⁴² P. DIXON, *op. cit.* (n.15), p. 1.

⁴³ in Keith V. ERICKSON (ed.), *op. cit.* (n.19), p. 182.

⁴⁴ P. DIXON, *op. cit.* (n.15), p. 64.

⁴⁵ *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*, Oxford 1965.

⁴⁶ J. CONNORS, Lisa S. EDE and Andrea A. LUNSFORD (edd.), *supra* n.16.

CLASSICAL

MODERN

Distinction 1 — metier of rhetoric

man is rational animal
(Aristotle) who uses
logic or reason, and lived
in a time characterized by
stable values, social
cohesion and a unified
cultural ideal



man is rhetorical/symbol-
using/communal animal who
cogitates world through
shared and private symbols
in an aleatoric universe
with few agreed upon norms
and values

Distinction 2 — emphasis of rhetoric

emphasizes logical proofs



emotional (psychological)
proofs

Distinction 3 — rhetor - audience relationship

manipulative, antagonistic,
one-way or unidirectional
communication



«skillful verbal coercion»

posits co-operative
relationship, based on
empathy, mutual trust, and
two-way communication
«enlightened co-operation»

Distinction 4 — goal

persuasion
«off-spring of dispute,
dominated by the
combative impulse»



communication
«reduction of threat through
dialogue»

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PLUTARCH'S USE OF LITERATURE

Sources and Citations in the *Quaestiones Romanae* *

Plutarch's attitude towards literature has been, and still is, the object of numerous studies that investigate a specific aspect of the problem. For instance, contributions have been devoted to his aesthetics in general¹, to his opinions concerning a specific type of literature (viz. poetry² or rhetoric³), or specific genres⁴ or their representatives⁵. Some articles were limited to points of detail such as his view of *katharsis*⁶. Nonetheless, the Chaeronean's place in manuals of Greek literary theory and criticism is, although not wholly without reason, rather confined⁷. But then, a comprehensive synthesis based on an interpretation of all the relevant passages and touching on all the topics involved is not yet available.

However, not only the interpretation of Plutarch's *explicit* statements, but also the results of 'Quellenforschung', provided these do not disintegrate Plutarch and merely reduce him to other writers, may well be able to shed some light on his own evaluation of the literary products he consulted. In the present paper I will try to illustrate how the investigation

* I would like to thank Professors M. Pinnoy and H. Verdin for reading an earlier draft of this article, which is reverently dedicated to Em. Prof. Dr. E. Van 't Dack, *Romanarum rerum peritus*.

¹ E.g. M. LEHNERDT, *De locis Plutarchi ad artem spectantibus*, diss. Königsberg 1883; G. VOELSING, *Plutarchus quid de pulchritudinis vi ac natura senserit*, diss. Marburg 1908; K. SVOBODA, *Les idées esthétiques de Plutarque*, in *Mélanges Bidez*, Bruxelles 1934, p. 917-946.

² E.g. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Dubbi intorno alle teorie letterarie del De Pythiae oraculis di Plutarco*, *Athenaeum* 16 (1938), p. 158-163; L. S. SCAZZOCCHIO, *Poética y crítica literaria en Plutarco*, diss. Montevideo 1957; A. M. TAGLIASACCHI, *Le teorie estetiche e la critica letteraria in Plutarco*, *Acme* 14 (1961), p. 71-117.

³ R. JEUCKENS, *Plutarch von Chaeronea und die Rhetorik (Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses selectae, XII 4)*, Strassburg 1907.

⁴ E.g. L. DI GREGORIO, *Plutarco e la tragedia greca*, *Prometheus* 2 (1976), p. 151-174.

⁵ E.g. A. MUEHL, *Quomodo Plutarchus Chaeronensis de poetis scaenicis Graecorum iudicaverit*, Neuburg 1900; L. DI GREGORIO, *Lettura diretta e utilizzazione di fonti intermedie nelle citazioni plutarchee dei tre grandi tragici*, *Aevum* 53 (1979), p. 11-50, and 54 (1980), p. 46-79.

⁶ K. ELEBAERS, *De katharsistheorie bij Plutarchus*, Leuven-Gent 1922.

⁷ J. D. DENNISTON, *Greek Literary Criticism*, London-Toronto 1924, p. 208-211; J. W. H. ATKINS, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity. A Sketch of its Development II*, Gloucester (Mass.) 1961, p. 308-327; G. M. A. GRUBE, *The Greek and Roman Critics*, London 1965, p. 314-318.

of Plutarch's sources in the *Quaestiones Romanae* can be of value for the problem posed. To that end, three questions will be asked:

1. Which authors did Plutarch read with an eye to the redaction of the *Quaestiones Romanae*?
2. What led him to read precisely those authors?
3. How profound was his knowledge of the authors consulted?

The study of Plutarch's sources in the *Quaestiones Romanae* is already more than a century old: so we are now in the comfortable position of having at our disposal a large number of more or less sound studies on that matter⁸. Divergent viewpoints as to Plutarch's credibility in general, diverse judgements and assumptions as to the level of his command of Latin, and differences of opinion on the matter of grouping certain *Quaestiones* on the basis of their related subjects have made the history of this 'Quellenforschung' sway between two extremes: on the one hand, that Plutarch would have actually read all the sources he mentions by name⁹; on the other, that he would have consulted just one principal source, sc. Juba, from which he came to know nearly all other authors he cites¹⁰.

1. In the *Quaestiones Romanae*, Plutarch mentions 30 writers by name, 11 Latin and 19 Greek. In a treatise on Roman matters, this preponderance of Greek authors seems surprising. However, with which authors was Plutarch directly familiar¹¹? If, in answering this question, one takes

⁸ J. J. G. LAGUS, *Plutarchus Varronis studiosus*, diss. Helsingforsiae 1847; G. THILO, *De Varrone Plutarchi Quaestionum Romanarum auctore principuo*, Bonnae 1853; F. LEO, *De Plutarchi Quaestionum Romanarum auctoribus*, diss. Halis Saxonum 1864; H. PETER, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer*, Halle 1865; W. SOLTAU, *De fontibus Plutarchi in secundo bello Punico enarrando*, diss. Bonn 1870; A. BARTH, *De Jubae OMOIOTHEÏN a Plutarcho expressis in Quaestionibus Romanis et in Romulo Numaque*, diss. Gottingae 1876; P. GLAESSER, *De Varronianae doctrinae apud Plutarchum vestigiis*, diss. Lipsiae 1881; A. SICKINGER, *De linguae Latinae apud Plutarchum et reliquis et vestigiis*, diss. Friburgi Brisgoviae 1883; G. VORNEFELD, *De scriptorum Latinorum locis a Plutarcho citatis*, Monasterii Guestf. 1901; Th. LITT, *Über eine Quelle von Plutarchs Aetia Romana*, *RhM* 59 (1904), p. 603-615; H. J. ROSE, *The Roman Questions. A New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary*, Oxford 1924; Th. S. TZANNETATOS, Τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν αἰτίων Ῥωμαϊκῶν καὶ ὁ Ῥωμύλος τοῦ Πλουτάρχου. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετῆρις τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν 2 (1953-54), p. 293-329; C. CRIFO, *La c.d. inamovibilità dell' «augur publicus P.R.Q.» (A proposito di Plutarco, Quaest. Rom., 99)*, *Latomus* 21 (1962), p. 689-710; E. VALGIGLIO, *Varrone in Plutarco*, in *Atti del Congr. intern. di studi Varroniani II*, Rieti 1976, p. 571-595.

⁹ Thus F. LEO, *o.c.* (n. 8).

¹⁰ Thus A. BARTH, *o.c.* (n. 8).

¹¹ «Directly» means that Plutarch himself read the text of the cited source, «indirectly»

into account the results of the 'Quellenforschung' — insofar as a final consensus has been reached — the analysis of all the separate *Quaestiones* reveals that Plutarch did not personally read all the authors he cites, and also that there are writers he does not mention yet has read. Allowance has been made herefor in the following survey of the sources; at the same time, attention is devoted to their function in Plutarch's exposition.

	<i>source</i>	<i>direct/indirect reading</i>	<i>function</i>
1. QR 2	Varro (Verrius?) ¹²	non liquet	information
2. QR 4	Juba Varro	direct non liquet ¹³	information
3. QR 5	Varro	non liquet ¹⁴	information
4. QR 6	Aristotle	direct	information
5. QR 10	Castor	non liquet ¹⁵	information
6. QR 12	?	non liquet ¹⁶	information
7. QR 14	Varro Juba Valerius Maximus	indirect direct direct	information
8. QR 21	Nigidius Figulus	non liquet	information
9. QR 24	Juba Verrius ¹⁷	direct non liquet	information
10. QR 25	Livy Juba ¹⁹	indirect ¹⁸ direct	information

that the information was found cited in some other writer or in an anthology and that Plutarch did not take the trouble of looking up the original text.

¹² A. SICKINGER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 65, pointed out that Plutarch is using some Latin source here. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 37, ruled out Verrius because Festus 289/404 s.v. *rapi solet fax*, nore Pauli epitomi Festi 87/62 s.v. *facem*, mentions five torches.

¹³ Scholarly opinions diverge: G. THILO, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 8-9, and G. VORNEFELD, *o.c.*, p. 60, think that Plutarch consulted Varro; W. SOLTAU, *o.c.*, p. 39-41, and A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 187-190, adhere to Juba; H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 29, endorses Thilo only hypothetically.

¹⁴ There is no agreement between G. THILO, *o.c.*, p. 12, and H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 24-25, on the one hand, and A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 48, on the other.

¹⁵ G. THILO, *o.c.*, p. 16, and H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 173, argue for the direct consultation of Castor; A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 30-32, and Th. LITT, *RhM* 59 (1904), p. 607 and 614, hold that Juba informed Plutarch on Castor's statement.

¹⁶ G. THILO, *o.c.*, p. 2, ranks QR 12 among the *Quaestiones* which testify to Plutarch's own sagacity, since Greek and Roman customs are compared. But to A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 31-32, the same reasoning would argue for the use of Juba: QR 10 to 14 are part of a group in which Varro and Dionysius (I 38) are mingled. However, according to Th. LITT, *RhM* 59 (1904), p. 612, the ultimate source is Verrius.

¹⁷ Cf. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 40.

¹⁸ Cf. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 25-27, where he opts for a direct reading; but on p. 25 he says: «cited... probably indirectly».

¹⁹ Cf. A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 24-30; Th. LITT, *RhM* 59 (1904), p. 604, 606-607, 614.

11. QR 26	Herodotus	direct	ornatus
	Socrates	non liquet ²⁰	confirmation
12. QR 27	Varro	direct	information
13. QR 28	Favorinus	direct (?) ²¹	information
	Juba	direct ²²	
14. QR 33	Plato	direct	confirmation
15. QR 34	Cicero	direct	information
16. QR 39	Cato	non liquet ²³	information
17. QR 41	Fenestella	non liquet	information
18. QR 42	Antimachus	non liquet	illustration
	Hesiod	direct	
19. QR 46	Antistius Labeo	non liquet	information
20. QR 49	Cato	direct	information
21. QR 50	Ateius Capito	non liquet	information
22. QR 51	Verrius	direct	information
	Chrysippus	direct	information
23. QR 52	Socrates	non liquet	information
	Verrius	direct	
	Aristotle	direct	information
24. QR 56	Verrius	direct	information
25. QR 59	Juba	direct	information
26. QR 61	Verrius	direct	information
	Homer	direct	ornatus
27. QR 62	Homer	direct	ornatus
28. QR 65	Solon	direct	confirmation
29. QR 69	? ²⁴	non liquet	information
30. QR 71	Sophocles	direct (?) ²⁵	confirmation
31. QR 76	Castor	non liquet	information
	Sophocles	direct	ornatus

²⁰ According to W. HALLIDAY, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, New York 1975, p. 116 and 120, and M. VAN DER VALK, *Enknisma bei den Argivern (Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae 24)*, *Mnemosyne* 6 (1938), p. 350, n. 3, Socrates was not consulted directly; but H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 181, has his doubts.

²¹ Favorinus will be left out of consideration: Plutarch may have heard him lecture, or even may have conversed with him, in Rome.

²² Cf. P. GLAESSER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 176, and H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 182, who also points out that Plutarch did not read Dion. Hal. II 9.2.

²³ It remains possible that Plutarch was informed here by Cicero (cf. G. VORNEFELD, *o.c.*, p. 10).

²⁴ The identity of the ἐνιοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν remains unknown.

²⁵ Cf. L. DI GREGORIO, *Aevum* 53 (1979), p. 49-50.

	Parmenides	direct	ornatus
32. QR 77	Timotheus	non liquet	ornatus
33. QR 78	Dionysius	indirect ²⁶	information
	Juba	direct	
	Verrius ²⁷	non liquet	
34. QR 79	Pyrrhon	non liquet	information
35. QR 86	Euripides	indirect ²⁸	confirmation
	Juba	direct	
36. QR 89	Juba	direct	information
	Verrius	indirect	
37. QR 90	Varro	non liquet	information
38. QR 93	Herodorus	non liquet	information
	Aeschylus	direct	confirmation
	Aristotle (?) ²⁹	direct (?)	
39. QR 97	Verrius	non liquet	information
	Simylus or Boutas (?)	non liquet	ornatus
40. QR 101	Varro	non liquet	information
	Empedocles	direct	confirmation
41. QR 104	Verrius	direct	information
	Alexander	non liquet	information
42. QR 105	Varro	direct	information
43. QR 107	Cluvius Rufus	direct	information
44. QR 109	Homer	direct	confirmation
45. QR 113	Hippocrates ³⁰	direct	illustration

But even if we would limit ourselves to those authors of whom we may assume with a reasonable degree of certainty that Plutarch read them directly, even then the balance would dip in favour of the Greek authors: Plutarch would have read 6 Latin and 14 Greek writers. The Latin authors are: M. Terentius Varro, Valerius Maximus, M. Tullius Cicero, M. Porcius Cato, Verrius Flaccus, and Cluvius Rufus; the Greek: Juba, Aristotle, Plato, Parmenides, Empedocles, Chrysippus, Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Solon, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Hippocrates.

²⁶ Cf. A. BARTH, *o.c.* (p. 8, 11-12 and 17-18; H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 201.

²⁷ Cf. A. SICKINGER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 48-49; H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 37 and 42.

²⁸ Cf. L. DI GREGORIO, *Aevum* 54 (1980), p. 46.

²⁹ H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 207, refers to Aristotle, *HA* 563 a 5, who also cites Herodorus.

³⁰ The work *De flatibus* was considered genuine.

2. More important than such mathematical proportions, however, is the question why Plutarch read precisely those authors: was he attracted by some intrinsic value in their work? This question will in turn appear to relate to the problem of the genesis of the *Quaestiones Romanae*.

H.J. Rose³¹ formulated the following hypothesis concerning Plutarch's dependence on Juba, Verrius and Varro: «I am inclined to think that Juba served him for a textbook and that he went from him both to Verrius and Varro». This hypothesis indeed stands the test of a number of *Quaestiones* in which the respective share of cited and uncited sources is fairly complicated.

An interesting example is *Quaestio* 14. In the third *causa* — actually a specification of the first — Varro is cited as the source of the information. This *causa* was the soil in which a *horrida silva* of obscurities and misunderstandings thrived³². According to the final consensus the sources consulted directly here are Juba (not mentioned by name), who is held responsible for the confusion between the turning of the head to the right as an expression of homage, and the averting of the head at the moment the torch was put to the funeral pyre³³, and Valerius Maximus, the writer who informed Plutarch on the first three cases of divorce³⁴ and in whose text he understood *aperire* as *operire*. Varro, cited by name, was consulted indirectly (through Juba), while Valerius Maximus, though consulted directly, is not mentioned nominatim!

The same hypothesis could be formulated with respect to Plutarch's use of Juba and, through him, of information in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Varro. The argumentation of A. Barth concerning *Quaestio* 78 is quite convincing³⁵: the refutation of both Dionysius and Varro points to a source which has already considered, and taken a decision on, the question of the *avis sinistra*.

Thus Plutarch's reading of Juba's ὁμοιότητες may have been his point of departure: a series of citations in that author initiated him in his

³¹ *O.c.*, p. 43.

³² P. GLAESSER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 160 n. 3, misunderstood G. THILO, *o.c.*, p. 12-13 and p. 2 note, as was already noticed by A. SICKINGER, *o.c.*, p. 65-66; H.J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 175, translates ἐφελκυσσάμενην ... κατὰ κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον as «pull her cloak down» and sharply rebukes Glaesser (who translates «vestem super caput detrahare ita ut caput velletur», *loc. cit.*) for his «bad Greek and a worse misunderstanding of the context»; but see Plut., *Caes.* 66, *Pomp.* 79, and LSJ s.v. ἐφέλκω III 3.

³³ Cf. H.J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 174-175, and A. BARTH, *o.c.*, p. 31 ff.

³⁴ Cf. A. SICKINGER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 65-66.

³⁵ *O.c.* (n. 8), p. 11-12 and 17-18.

subject. It is likely that Plutarch made some notes during this 'research'; perhaps the vagueness of his references is due to the conciseness of these notes — unless it is to be explained by a measure of negligence.

But the *Quaestiones* also contain material on matters Plutarch could have observed himself. He may have seen women in Rome wearing white clothing during periods of mourning (QR 26)³⁶, and he may have acquired *de visu* some notion about the way of living of the *flamen Dialis* (QR 109,113). Such information, then, would not be the result of the consultation of existing literature. Finally, there is the problem of the almost incidental reference to Socrates of Argos (QR 26 and 52) and to Nigidius Figulus (QR 21, perhaps referring to his *De animalibus*), both giving information that is somewhat beside the point.

Applying with slight modification Giesen's hypothesis³⁷ concerning the *Quaestiones Graecae*, we can now imagine the *Quaestiones Romanae* to have come about in one of the following ways:

a) Plutarch finds the subject for a question in an author, formulates the question, and cites the writer in the answering *causa*, sometimes together with answers he finds in other authors and/or answers based on his own knowledge and judgement. Examples of this procedure are:

QR 14: Plutarch reads Juba; he formulates the question and produces the first two *causae* on the basis of his own observations and knowledge; he then gives the answer of Varro who he knows via Juba (who is cited); finally he remembers something from an earlier reading of Valerius Maximus and (having found a note?) adds that information to the *causae*, even though it no longer is an adequate reply to the question.

QR 21: «Why do the Romans revere the woodpecker»? In the digression after the second *causa*, Nigidius Figulus is cited; but the citation only partly confirms the second *causa*: Nigidius asserted that in wooded places the wolf is found together with the woodpecker, whereas the *causa* suggested that Romulus and Remus were brought food by a woodpecker. The citation of Nigidius may well be a result of Plutarch's earlier reading: his zoological interests are sufficiently well known.

b) Plutarch finds the subject of a question in an author, formulates

³⁶ Cf. P. GLAESSER, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 170-171, and H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 180-181 and 32.

³⁷ *Plutarchs Quaestiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien*, *Philologus* 14 (1901), p. 448-449.

the question, and responds by citing other writers and/or his own knowledge. This procedure is illustrated by:

QR 33, where the question is asked why one formerly did not dine out without one's sons. Plutarch read that in an author, formulates it as a question, and produces answers from his own knowledge *and* from a Greek point of view, with reference to Lycurgus and Plato.

QR 34: Cicero recorded that Decimus Brutus made libations to the dead in the month of December, while it was usual to do so in February. Plutarch formulates this information as a question and answers with information from other (unknown) writers.

c) Plutarch's own observations provide the material for a question, which he then answers on the basis of authors and/or his own knowledge.

QR 93: «Why do they make most use of vultures in augury»? Plutarch probably came to this question through his own observation of this practice. The first answer reveals his general knowledge of the Roman world (the stories of Romulus and Remus) and his knowledge of vultures (from Nigidius Figulus? Cf. QR 21, where Romulus and Remus are also mentioned!), while the second invokes Greek writers (Herodorus and Aeschylus) and Egyptian mythology.

Thus it would seem possible to reconstruct the genesis of the *Quaestiones* with more or less accuracy, depending on our knowledge of Plutarch's sources. He had at his disposal a number of writers (though Juba is quite often the starting point of his reading) who casually refer him to other authors; he makes use of their information and supplements it with data from his own observation and knowledge or from earlier reading which he suddenly remembers or has at hand in the form of notes.

3. Among the factors that generated the *Quaestiones Romanae*, some are highly coincidental: memory and the presence of references to further literature. Given such fortuity, it may indeed be asked how thorough Plutarch's knowledge was of the literature he consulted.

First of all, Plutarch offers very little information on the authors he cites or on their writings — which, however, was a common practice in Antiquity. Only twice does he mention a work, and then only vaguely:

ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινι (QR 39), που (QR 71). Authors are sometimes introduced in a similarly vague way. The identification of ὁ ποιητής (QR 109) of course poses no problem, whereas the circumlocutions οἱ περὶ τὸν Χρύσιππον φιλόσοφοι (QR 51), οἱ περὶ Βάρρωνα (QR 101), οἱ περὶ Ἰόβαν (QR 24) seem mere rhetorical plurals, meant to add authority. But expressions like ἔνιοι Ῥωμαίων (QR 51), τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν τινες (QR 61), ἔνιοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν (QR 69), οἱ πλεῖστοι are an impediment to an exact identification, and we can no longer determine the identity of ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων (QR 12) or αἱ κωμωδίαι (QR 101). Moreover, qualifying epitheta with the names of writers are found only rarely: Aristotle is called ὁ φιλόσοφος, Castor τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικῶς συνοικειῶν (QR 6 and 10); Cato is identified as ὁ πρεσβύτερος (QR 39), while Antimachus is presented as Ἡσιόδῳ πειθόμενος (QR 42).

Nevertheless, the mere fact that Plutarch in so many cases — 51 to be precise — indicates his sources by means of an explicit formula shows that he wanted to draw some attention to them and borrow some authority from them. The terminology of these formulae, of varying grammatical structure, does not seem to consistently point to the type of literature of the source: γράφω and φημί can refer to both poets and prose writers (QR 42, 65 – QR 4, 27; QR 86 – QR 4, 5, 14...); only ποιῶ is consistently reserved for poets (QR 61, 71). Nor do the verbs point to a particular genre: ἱστορῶ is used for the antiquarian work of Varro (QR 90) as well as for the *De legibus* of Cicero. One indeed is left with the impression that these verbs are employed with regard for the function the citation was to fulfil in Plutarch's exposition: provide information (QR 39: Κάτων... δεδήλωκε) or confirm certain data (QR 101: αἱ κωμωδίαι μαρτυροῦσιν).

Finally, the formulae that indicate the source only rarely contain an explicit evaluation thereof. In QR 42 Antimachus' point is rejected outright (οὐχ ὥς γέγραφεν Ἀντίμαχος), but on the opinions of Labeo (QR 42: εἰ μέντοι ὀρθῶς ὁ Λαβεὼν... δέδειχε) and Herodorus (QR 93: εἰ λέγει ἀληθῶς Ἡρόδοτος) Plutarch offers no verdict. Varro's explanation in QR 5 is rejected as μυθικὴν ὅλως³⁸, but it is not wholly impossible that Plutarch is merely reproducing Juba's judgement of Varro³⁹. The anonymous sources in QR 19 are labelled πιθανώτεροι without further argument.

Thus the citation-formulae give but little substantial information as to

³⁸ Cf. QR 101: "Ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Βάρρωνα λέγουσιν οὐ πιθανόν ἐστι.

³⁹ Cf. A. BARTH, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 48.

Plutarch's evaluation of his sources. Another point now has to be considered: the possibility that Plutarch did not read the authors he cites in their entirety.

In QR 62 the question is posed why the *pater patratus* is considered the leader of the Fetiales. Before answering the question, Plutarch offers an explanation of the term *pater patratus*, but confuses *patratus* with *patrimus*: did Plutarch actually look up the relevant text in Verrius⁴⁰, whose work seems to have been consulted on several other matters? Furthermore, it is striking that Plutarch fails to mention *Dius Fidius* either in QR 28, where the oath by *Hercules* is discussed, or in QR 30, which concerns *Gaia Caecilia* and the temple of *Sanc(t)us*; it seems possible that Plutarch was not aware of the identity of *Dius Fidius* and *Semo Sancus*, and that he «may have overlooked the passage of *Dion. Hal. (II.ix.2)* which identifies the two»⁴¹. In QR 24 the author cited (*Juba*) was in all likelihood Plutarch's source of information, even if some data on the Roman calendar (in the first *causa*) go back to *Varro*; in the second *causa*, however, the ultimate source seems to have been *Verrius* (on the basis of the suggested orthography *Nounae*)⁴²: Plutarch did not himself read *Varro* on this point.

That Plutarch would have read some writers only partly — the defective tradition of his sources makes it difficult to pronounce a verdict in each particular case — is but a logical implication of the hypothesis suggested above concerning the genesis of the *Quaestiones* (viz. the casual reference to specific passages in some authors, casual recollections of earlier reading).

Another element in the discussion of the quality of Plutarch's knowledge of his literary sources is the question of his familiarity with Latin literature and, a priori, with the Latin language. Plutarch indeed seems to make mistakes as a result of a deficient knowledge of Latin: in QR 2, 54, 62, and 104, he translates or explains Latin words in a manifestly wrong way; he does not appear to have been readily conversant with the language (QR 46), and he commits errors that are clearly due to hasty or careless reading. Nevertheless, even if we accept Plutarch's own admission that his knowledge of Latin was too defective to allow him to appreciate the full beauty of its literature (*Dem. 2.2ff.*), it remains a fact

⁴⁰ Cf. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ Cf. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 182.

⁴² Cf. H. J. ROSE, *o.c.*, p. 40.

that he did read Latin works and that he understood them well enough to realize the first purpose of that reading.

Indeed, to answer the question how thoroughly Plutarch knew his sources, one must take into account the function of the reading and citing of those sources.

The six Latin writers that Plutarch read himself are all cited as sources of information; in other words, Plutarch did not read Latin authors in order to confirm, illustrate or ornament his own exposition. This explains why all the writers so consulted were producers of historical prose (with the exception of Cicero in his *De legibus*). In view of his need for information on Roman matters, Plutarch selected from Latin literature those writers whose concern was not exclusively, or even primarily, the production of word-painting. Which at least partly explains the absence of citations of Roman poets.

Greek literature was not the ideal source of information on Roman *antiquaria*. Still, if a Greek author was found to treat thereof, Plutarch used him with eagerness: Juba is cited 6 times as a source of information, and he must surely have been Plutarch's informant much more often. With the exception of Aristotle and Socrates in QR 6 and 52 (recollections of earlier reading), all other Greek writers are cited for confirmation, illustration, or adornment. They are 'superfluous' in the sense that Plutarch did not really need them for his exposition; their appearance issues from Plutarch's literary culture, which encompassed both poetry (epic, didactic, dramatic) and prose (historical prose of Herodotus, pseudo-Hippocrates, the dialogues of Plato).

In this light, the absence of citations of Latin poets for the purpose of confirmation (with the exception of the comedies in QR 101 — but are we really sure that we are dealing here with typically Roman *togatae*?), illustration, or adornment is even more striking. There indeed appear to be sufficient grounds for the hypothesis that Plutarch read no more Latin writers than necessary for the gathering of some specific information. Latin poetry was not the proper literature to achieve that end and, moreover, the *dulce* of that poetry (in the function of illustration or adornment) would have held no great appeal for a Greek audience.

It must be concluded that the *Quaestiones Romanae*, as an antiquarian tract on Roman matters, occupy too particular a place in Plutarch's œuvre to allow us to generalize the results of this investigation. Only when all his writings are analyzed in this way, and on the condition that

in his treatment of his literary sources some constants turn up which do not find their ultimate explanation in the content and nature of the tracts themselves, can a synthesis of such constants provide more general indications as to Plutarch's actual attitude toward specific types and genres of literature.

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THE PROOEMIUM TO VIRGIL'S GEORGICS

In the opening to his first book of the *Georgics*, Virgil starts by describing the subject-matter of all four books (vv.1-4), and then appeals to the gods traditionally associated with agriculture and the countryside, specifically in vv.5-20 and in general in vv.21-24. This invocation is matched by an appeal to the god-to-be, Caesar, of equal length (19 vv.). In this article I shall examine the first 23 vv. of the *prooemium* in detail, first of all to show that *every* deity invoked was included by Virgil as being responsible for an agricultural *invention*, except for the Sun and Moon (vv.5-6) and the Fauns and Dryads (vv.10-11), who represent Nature's permanent and all-important back-drop, the planets in the sky, and the trees and woods on earth. Secondly, I shall reveal the special importance of Pan in the *prooemium*, and the likely reasons for this surprising highlighting of the normally unimportant deity. *En passant* added arguments will be given for the total rejection of Servius' mistake over the *Laudes Galli*, and some new interpretations of the Latin will be suggested. Hitherto, no Virgilian scholar seems to have fully understood the purpose and the structure of the *prooemium*.¹

To clarify the complex patterning of the *prooemium* (vv.1-23), I shall first set out the Latin, with some lines and letters to help explain its divisions and connections. The lines mark divisions of books (single)

¹ Of recent authors, only Gary B. MILES, *Virgil's Georgics*, Berkeley 1980, comes close to seeing its purpose. He rightly sees the Fauns and Dryads, p. 65, as attesting «to the spontaneous vitality of the countryside», and the *lumina* as controlling seasons and climate for farmers, but «more often the deities are praised for specific discoveries or inventions», including transplanting for Silvanus, and grafting for v.22. He rightly dismisses Varro's list (see n. 8): «Virgil's pantheon is unique», with its Greek discoveries suggesting the «remote origins of civilization with agriculture». However, he only sees Aristaeus as «cultivator of groves» and Pan as caring for sheep. M.C.J. PUTNAM, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth*, Princeton 1979, p. 17-23, sees the gods simply as bringing «gifts», not as inventors. R.D. WILLIAMS (ed.), *Virgil: the Eclogues and Georgics*, London 1979, p. 133, sees it as a version of Varro's invocation, and refers readers to L.P. WILKINSON, *The Georgics of Virgil*, Cambridge 1969, p. 146f. There Wilkinson is also misled by Varro (see p. 296 below). B. OTIS, *Virgil: a Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford 1964, ignores the proem. W. RICHTER, *Vergil: Georgica*, Munich 1957, p. 116-121, also follows Varro, and only sees «inventions» in vv. 18-20 — Silvanus, mistakenly, *quia primus in terram lapidem finalem posuit*. Earlier articles and editions are no more informative; T.E. PAGE, *P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London 1910⁴, p. 179, sees Aristaeus merely as «feeder of cattle», Pan «keeper of sheep» and Silvanus «planter of trees».

and of deities invoked (double), the numbers refer to the four books (a,b or a,b,c to the main inventors and inventions therein), and the marginal letters pick out 3 key deities (or pairs thereof) (A), 3 other deities (B), and 3 backdrops (α,β,γ):

Quid faciat ^{1a} laetas segetes, quo sidere terram vertere, ^{1b} Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere ^{2a} vites conveniat, quae cura ^{3b} boum, qui cultus habendo sit pecori, ^{3c} apibus ⁴ quanta experientia parcis, hinc canere incipiam. Vos, o clarissima mundi	α	5
lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum; Liber ^{2a} et alma Ceres, ^{1a} vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam ^{1a} pingui glandem mutavit arista, ^{1a} poculaque inventis Acheloia ^{2a} miscuit uvis ^{2a} ;	α A A	
et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni, ferre simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae; munera vestra cano. Tuque o, cui prima frementem fudit equum ^{3a} magno tellus percussa tridenti, Neptune, ^{3a} et cultor ⁴ nemorum, cui pingua Ceae ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuveni. ⁴	β β A A	10 15
Ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycae, Pan, ^{3c} ovium ^{3c} custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae, adsis, o Tegeae, favens. Oleaeque ^{2b} Minerva ^{2b} inventrix, unciue puer ^{1b} monstrator aratri ^{1b} et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, ^{2b} cupressum; ^{2b}	A B B B	
dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri, quique novas alitis non ullo semine fruges, quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem;	γ γ γ	20 23

The spaced letters in verses 5, 12 and 18 highlight the three carefully placed, initial part-lines, each followed by a major pause, that marks each main section of the invocation. They are linked by *canere-cano* and *munera-favens*; a full-stop after *favens* would neatly balance the one after *cano* in v.12.²

In the first 5 lines, Virgil's apparently simple Latin reveals, on close examination, his meticulous and painstaking artistry, especially his love of variety, his allusiveness and his succinctness. For example, each of the 5 indirect questions has a different form of the interrogative, with 4 different positions in the line. Maecenas appears in v.2; as has long been observed,³ he again appears in v.2 in book IV, and in v.41 in books II

² John Martyn (London 1746) has a colon; modern editors inconsistently print a full stop (or semi-colon) before *Tuque*, and comma before *oleaeque*.

³ D.L. DREW, *The Structure of Vergil's Georgics*, *AJPh* 50 (1929), p. 244-245.

and III. What has not been observed is the way Maecenas appears in four different positions in the hexameter, and also almost in parenthesis in books I and III, but as the object of a request in books II and IV (with *da* and *aspice*). This is clear with the lines set out below (note the abba and abab variety); the name could fill no other position without upsetting the rhythm of the hexameter:

a	i	2	<i>Vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vites</i>	Aside	a
b	ii	41	<i>Maecenas pelagoque volans da vela patenti</i>	Request	b
b	iii	41	<i>intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa</i>	Aside	a
a	iv	2	<i>exsequar. Hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem</i>	Request	b

The choice of adjectives and nouns is also revealing: *laetas* («happy»), *adiungere* («wed»), *cura* («love, care for»), *cultus* («culture») and *parcis* («thrifty») all personify, showing Virgil's empathy with all of Nature, so noticeable throughout the *Georgics*. With *sidere* he hints at Hesiod's *Days*, and the countryman's calendar, depicted especially after v.204 of book I. Surprisingly, the longest and heaviest interrogative, *quanta*, and the longest abstract noun by far, *experientia*, are saved up for the tiny bee, hinting at the incongruity explored so delightfully in the first half of book IV. Some scholars take this as describing the quality of a bee; but this breaks the pattern of man's care for crops and animals, and the only other appearance of the word in the works of Virgil is at IV 316, where it leads directly into Aristaeus and his «trial and error» in bee-keeping; it seems far better to understand *habendis* with *apibus*.⁴ In v.4, *pecori* represents sheep, in contrast to the bulls, *boum*, that play such a dramatic rôle in book III (vv.209-241). However, the same is not true in the similar passage in book IV, vv.128-129, that describes the old Corcyrean's garden, on soil (*seges*) unsuited to ploughing (*nec fertilis illa iuvenis*),⁵ to sheep and cattle (*nec pecori opportuna*) and to vines (*nec commoda Baccho*), i.e. books I, III and II, leaving the flowers and bees, and book IV (*hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum / lilia...*). I shall comment on *dumis* when we get to v.15 of the *prooemium*.

In vv.5-6, the *clarissima lumina* suggest *Sol* and *Luna*, although the periphrasis may include the other «planets» (Venus, Jupiter, Mars,

⁴ M.C.J. PUTNAM, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 17, translates: «What skill the thrifty bees possess», and takes *pecori* as «herd».

⁵ *seges fertilis* suggests corn rather than grazing land, and *iuveni* are regularly used by Virgil for ploughing, as in *Gics.* II 237 and 357, and *Ecl.* II 66. There is no need to read *Cerer* for *pecori* (Salmasius, Paratore).

Mercury and Saturn) — Virgil probably deliberately leaves it open. All were important in the calendar (*quae ducitis annum*). The semi-colon at this point in R. A. B. Mynors' *O.C.T.* seems necessary; the variety with the asyndeton is far preferable to Macrobius' linking of *lumina* with Bacchus and Demeter. As T. E. Page rightly pointed out⁶, besides the obscurity of such identifications, it would mean that «two strikingly different reasons are given why these deities are invoked, and the careful balance of the passage is destroyed». The lack of balance with such a 5 verse opening (vv.5-9) is clear from my breakdown above.

Varro's invocation (*De R.R.* I 1.4-5) starts with the pairs Jupiter and Tellus, Sol and Luna and Ceres and Liber, for what it is worth. Wilkinson⁷ (like R. D. Williams) sees Virgil reworking Varro's list, despite the totally different purposes and characters of their works. Virgil's list really surprised him, «not entirely paired according to sex», and no patron for the bees; and «apart from Silvanus no god is genuinely Italian», and «again there is no Saturnus or Consus or Mars». «Probably there is no explanation of these peculiarities»; so, starting from Varro, Virgil «let his imagination, not to say whim, have free rein». Virgil, I suggest, is not invoking *all* the gods of agriculture, but only its inventors (and its backdrop); hence the absence of key deities like Pales (invoked twice, at III 1, with Apollo and Pan, and at III 294 alone), Jupiter⁸ (for all his importance in I and II), Mars (the horror of «war» in the *Gics.*), Venus (always «sex» or *furor*), and Saturnus (a «star» in I 336, «age» II 538, «adulterer» III 93; however, the *curvo dente* of his traditional *falx* at II 406 might have been a runner-up to the plough). The *Georgics* are poetry, not prose, and they cover all of Nature, not just Italian farming. Virgil may have used some agronomic material in Varro, but not his poem.

The importance of the discoveries by *Liber* and *Ceres* is underlined by the chiasmus, and by the exotic proper names, *Chaoniam*, picturing the oaks of Dodona and primitive man's acorn-diet, replaced by *pingui arista*, and *Acheloia*, the most ancient of rivers, its water mixed with wine, *inventis* («the invention of») *uvis*.

The Fauns and Dryads are then invited to step forward together, with the first imperative in the invocation. Backed up by *munera vestra cano*,

⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 180.

⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 147.

⁸ M.C.J. PUTNAM, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 22, rightly kept Varro to a brief note, but was surprised at Jupiter's absence.

that balances *hinc canere incipiam* (v.5), this serves as an appeal to *all* the deities in vv.5-11, not just the Fauns and Dryads. A bracket around *ferte cano*⁹ breaks the balanced appeal, that is completed with *adsis, o Tegeaee, favens* in v.18. The blending of the ancient Roman country gods, the Fauns, with the Greek tree-nymphs, *Dryades puellae*, as they do their *pas-de-deux*, is typical of Virgil's Mediterranean outlook; his agriculture is by no means restricted to Italy, even if conditions there come closest to perfection (II 136-176); the country-life of Greece, Italy, Scythia, Africa, Asia-Minor and Egypt makes up a composite whole, that depicts man's relationship with the whole of Nature.

The sudden *Tuque*, and emphatically delayed *Neptune*, give added importance to the *inventor* of the horse, the key animal, rather surprisingly, in book III. According to legend, Poseidon's horse was no match for Athene's olive, in their contest to become patron god of Athens. Virgil's surprisingly cursory treatment of Minerva (vv.18-19, and only vv.420-425 in Book II) suggests that he disagreed with the verdict. But first, another periphrasis points to the key deity in book IV, Aristaeus.

The phrase *cultor nemorum* depicts, I suggest, the prototype gardener-cum-bee-keeper, not at this stage just a *pastor* (although *iuvenci* looks forward to that title, applied to him later on, at IV 317), but «cultivating his fruit-trees».¹⁰ Here the *pastor* epithet seems to have been deliberately avoided. Rather, Virgil makes several suggestive allusions to Aristaeus' bee-keeping rôle in book IV, which show that he held centre-stage in that book when the *prooemium* was composed. It seems that Aristaeus was always an integral part of the *prooemium*, as an *inventor*, not of the bee (which came from heaven), but of the bee-recovery technique, the *bougonia*. At first glance, this may seem far-fetched. But Virgil's allusive technique and meticulous artistry demands very careful attention to his hints: and any reader is ready to link Aristaeus with the technique after reaching v.315 of book IV: *quis deus hanc extudit artem* (implying an *invention*), namely *pastor Aristaeus* (317).

The adjective *pinguia* (like *pingues hortos* in IV 118) suggests thick, fertile foliage, with pollen in plenty for bees; as does *dumeta* also, a word used nowhere else by Virgil, here describing a mass of *dumi*. Elsewhere these «bushes» provide fodder for goats (*Gics.* II 315, *Ecl.* I 76) and for birds (*Gics.* III 338) but, more importantly, for the *bees*

⁹ As in Mynors *O.C.T.*, and R.D. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29.

¹⁰ See M.C.J. PUTNAM, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 20 n. 4.

(*Gics.* IV 130). In Horace, *dumeta* provides shade for flock and shepherd during summer's heat (*Carm.* III 29.23); not low scrub, it appears. Anyway, Ceos was one of the more fertile and flowery of the Aegean isles, perfect for apiary, and heifers. But in the *prooemium*, the *ter centum* and *nivei* («perfectly white») suggest magic and ritual,¹¹ not exact agronomy, namely the procedure *invented* by Aristaeus (IV 315-317), with Cyrene's help, to regain his lost bees, the *bougonia* (IV 538-558), with its 4 perfect bulls and 4 virgin heifers, a leafy thicket, a 9 day wait, and finally a miracle (*mirabile monstrum* 554) and huge clusters of bees. This was the ancient prototype (like Pan's wool-breeding below) for modern agricultural practice, which in this case is set in Egypt (vv.295-314), and described with accurate, scientific details. First, the setting (exact dimensions, compass direction), then the season (exact timing), then the victim (exact age), then its beating to death (exact killing technique), then flowers (cassia, thyme, ideal for bees) and finally an exact account of limbless, then winged bees, flying out like summer rain or Parthian arrows (exact imagery). To see «difficulties» in the two *bougoniae*, pointing to some revision by Virgil, as Otis did¹², suggests lingering respect for Servius' mistake, and misunderstanding of the nature and purpose of the carefully balanced and contrasted scientific and religious inventions, which in fact end the first and second halves of the fourth *Georgic*, and fully explain Aristaeus' function in the book as a whole.

To argue, therefore, that the *prooemium*, and the second half of book IV, were in any way rewritten by Virgil long after the poem was in circulation, with Aristaeus serving as a replacement for a disgraced Cornelius Gallus, is as nonsensical as supposing that any other historical figure could receive an extensive or even a brief eulogy in book IV, after the very carefully placed references to Maecenas, and to Caesar. Even without the conclusive arguments for the poem's unity as it now stands, and for the special significance of Aristaeus and Orpheus in its major themes, as presented especially by a series of American scholars,¹³ there

¹¹ When editors imagine Virgil using *ter centum* simply as a 'big number', one should be worried. He does not waste words like that. The number 3 was the commonest magical / ritual number (*O.C.D.*, p. 614), and white a sacred colour *par excellence*, its purity and virginity essential for sacrifice to celestial gods (*O.C.D.*, p. 214-215).

¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 41.

¹³ First D.L. DREW, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), elaborated by W.B. ANDERSON, *CQ* 27 (1933), p. 36-45; G. DUCKWORTH, *AJPh* 80 (1959), p. 225-237; B. OTIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 407-413 (where he demolished arguments by Karl Büchner and Will Richter that parts of the *Aen.* were rewritten for the *Gics.*); C.P. SEGAL, *AJPh* 87 (1966), p. 307-325, and G.B. MILES, *op. cit.*

are several suggestions in the sixth *Eclogue* that an Orpheus-centred epyllion was likely to appear in his next work.¹⁴ Servius (or an earlier scholiast used by him) must have rationalised Gallus' actual suicide and his death from a broken heart (*Ecl.* X10 *indigno cum Gallus amore peribat*) to be found, together with his praises, *in postrema parte Bucolicorum*, as Ammianus Marcellinus put it (XVII 4.5).

Equally important, and hitherto unexplained, or virtually ignored,¹⁵ is Virgil's appeal to Pan, in vv.16-18. Besides the emphatic *ipse*, and the appearance of only the second command (*adsis*) in the whole invocation, Pan has more lines (2½) assigned to him in Virgil's very economical *prooemium* than does any other deity. Aristaeus and Neptune have 2 each, Liber and Ceres 1½ each, the Fauns, Dryads and Silvanus 1 each, and the Sun and Moon, Minerva and Triptolemus ¾ each. Virgil links the god with the mountain glades of Arcadia (Lycaeus, Maenalus), and the Arcadian town, Tegea, the perfect hill-side pastures for sheep, and special haunt of their «inventor»; not of the animal, but of a means of control, I suggest, and of a technique of wool-production. For the first, Pan invented the syrinx, or Pan-pipes, the pipe used then and for centuries after to call and control sheep,¹⁶ as well as for musical interludes. In two passages in the *Eclogues*, his *invention* is linked closely with his special care for sheep and shepherds, as is suggested by *ovium custos ... curae* in the *prooemium*, v.17:

(n. 1), p. 226-294. However, Erich BURCK, *Hermes* 64 (1929), p. 279-321, also argued for the poem's «organisches Ganzes».

¹⁴ Some Orpheus references in *Ecl.* VI reappear in *Gics.* IV: 30 *Rhodope ... Orphea*, 461 *Rhodopeiae arces*; 71 *cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos*, 510 *agentem carmine quercus*; 79 *philomela ... infelix*, 511 *philomela (maerens)*; and the songs are by a captured Silenus and Proteus respectively. The triple *Hylan...Hyla*, *Hyla* (43-44) reappears as a triple *Eurydicen* (525-527), with the first *litus omne sonaret*, the second, *toto referebant flumine ripae*. An Orpheus 'epyllion' was in his mind, it seems. As is suggested also by the language of *Gics.* I 36-40, which points to his descent, with *Tartara, dira cupido, sequi curet Proserpina matrem* and *da facilem cursum* (I owe this idea to Gary Miles, who kindly examined a first draft of this article).

¹⁵ T.E. Page called him «the chief rural god», without saying why. To M.C.J. PUTNAM, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 20, he is a «divine shepherd» from Arcadia, and so «more exciting». To G.B. MILES, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 65, «a shepherd who cares for his domain». To R.D. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 135, just «associated with Arcadia». To L.P. WILKINSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 147, «sheep and goats are under...Pan», etc.

¹⁶ Whistles still assist sheep-dogs; a pipe carries further than a voice and can soothe sheep, especially with wolves around — also soothed by Pan's pipes, Orpheus-style. In modern fables, the pipe (or horn) controls sheep, cows, rats, etc., as with Little Boy Blue, the Pied Piper, etc.

- (a) *Pan primum calamos cera coniungere plures*
instituit, Pan curat oves oviumque magistros. (Ecl. II 33-34)
- (b) *semper pastorum ille audit amores*
Panaque qui primus calamos non passus inertes. (Ecl. VIII 23.4)

This *invention* does not reappear in the *Georgics*, but would be an assumed background for its readers. His protection of sheep, against wolves especially, as Servius explains *custos*, is also implied by association in *Ecl.* V 59.

His second *invention* is described at the end of Virgil's section on wool production (*Gics.* III 383-393), where pure white fleeces are to be sought, even to the extent of rejecting snow-white rams if their tongues are black: *continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos*; with these precautions, you can get a perfect white fleece, just as Pan once did. Virgil sets the prototype white fleece in Arcadia, as part of a myth. But this is not «window-dressing» on Virgil's part; rather, he is thereby giving extra dignity to the shepherd's singularly unromantic but most important task of selective sheep-breeding. Without it, the sheep conceals its undercoat of wool with a thick coverage of long hair, the normal condition of wild sheep — before Pan got to work. Then, and now, long-continued selective breeding is essential for a thick, fluffy, snow-white fleece, like the one Pan developed and used to snare Luna:

munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est,
Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit,
in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem. (391-393)

With the indicative *est*, I suggest interpreting *si* as *siquidem* (as in the *prooemium* vv.7 and 17),¹⁷ meaning «as is worth believing», rather than «if it were credible». The latter is Servius' interpretation, leading to his moralistic comment «tantum de Luna sacrilegium». The *Schol. Vat.*¹⁸ enlarges: «et bene 'si credere dignum est', quia dicturus erat impie in deam», and then gives Nicander's different version of the myth: «Pan cum Lunae amore flagraret, ut illi formosus videretur, niveis velleribus se circumdedit atque ita eam ad rem veneriam illexit». It ends with a moralistic comment on the author: «nec poterat esse nisi Graecus». In fact, the erotic quality of Nicander's version is not entirely missing from

¹⁷ As in *Anonymi Brevis Expositio*, in G. THILO-H. HAGEN, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina commentarii* III, Leipzig 1887, p. 205.

¹⁸ I owe fine distinctions to the Servius scholar, Prof. Charles Murgia, Berkeley. For the *Schol. Vat.* see G. THILO-H. HAGEN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), where it appears as *Servius Auctus*.

Virgil's, where *captam*, *fefellit* and *nec tu aspernata* suggest not only her being craftily ensnared, but also her being willing to be seduced, and in return for the payment of a white fleece! Robert Browning's delightful 'dramatic idyl', *Pan and Luna* (c. 1878), shows his ambivalence over Virgil's brief account, in a poem that is worth reading — despite Wilkinson's ironical verdict¹⁹, «inspired (if that is the word) by this passage». Wilkinson also wrongly ascribed Virgil's story to Nicander («Virgil found the story, we are told, in Nicander», which should have read «Virgil found another version of the story, the *Schol. Vat.* informs us, in Nicander»). It is possible that Virgil specially adapted the Luna-Endymion myth, like that of Aristaeus causing Eurydice's death, to suit his own purposes. As Servius puts it, «mutat fabulam: nam non Pan, sed Endymion amasse dicitur Lunam». In fact, Virgil fully endorses the story of their union, treating Pan, Son of Mercury, as an attractive god rather than as a crude, hairy satyr (as Browning, and Pompeian wall-painters, saw him); he receives his full title, *deus Arcadiae*, and the story is carefully positioned as the climax of the sheep and sheep-breeding section, in words that certainly suggest Pan's 'discovery' of the technique for perfect white wool.²⁰

Besides these *inventions*, Pan is regularly honoured by Virgil as a key country god, often in very significant contexts. The first is in *Ecl.* IV 55-59, where the poet prays not to be surpassed in song by *Thracius Orpheus*, nor by *Linus*, and especially not by Pan:

Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum. (58-59)

Then follows the famous refrain: *Incipe, parve puer, (60)*. The repetition of *Pan Arcadia* gives extra emphasis to the god's appearance, as his *syrix* (in this case in a *musical* context) surpasses the instruments of even Orpheus and Linus. Similarly in *Ecl.* X 24-26, Pan and Silvanus are the *only* gods who arrive to console love-sick Gallus:

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 148.

²⁰ *Anon. Brevis Expos.*, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 204, among comments on Pan, includes «Eundem volunt etiam lanificii repertorem»; inventor, but not 'spinning and weaving'. Another fanciful version of the Pan-Luna myth appears in *Probi Comm.*, in G. THILO-H. HAGEN, *op. cit.* (n. 17) III, p. 383. It should also be noted that Pan is associated with Pales and Apollo Νόμιος (not Aristaeus) in the first invocation of Book III, v. 2, where *silvae amnesque Lycae* anticipate his key rôle with sheep.

*Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore,
florentes ferulas et grandia lilia quassans.
Pan deus Arcadiae venit, ...*

Silvanus, an ancient rural deity of Italy, who also appears in the *prooemium* (v.20), again closely accompanies Pan (with the double *que*) in one of the most significant passages in the *Gics.*, II 493-494, where Virgil rejects the harsh, scientific enquiry of Lucretius,²¹ but praises the man fortunate enough to know the countryman's religion, equated with Pan and Silvanus:

*Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes,
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.*

The Romanized «sister nymphs» had appeared in Greek garb in the *prooemium*, v.11, as they had in *Ecl.* V 58-59, again in close association with Pan, and the shepherds:

*Ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadesque puellas.*

The cumulative effect of Pan's four appearances, twice with Silvanus and twice with the Dryads, suggests the special yet unexpected importance given to Pan by Virgil in his *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Combined with his discoveries of the syrinx and perfect white fleece, and his general rôle as protector of sheep and shepherds, this appearance of Pan as an all-important country-god explains Virgil's extra build-up of the god in his *prooemium*, where he rivals Neptune as an inventor.

The final inventions follow as somewhat of an anticlimax, for all the economic importance of Minerva's olive. The periphrasis for Triptolemus matches those for the planets, and for Aristaeus, again to provide variety. Taught by Demeter, the youth invented the «crooked plough», important in the 'works' that appear in the first part of *Georgics* I. Finally, Silvanus appears, as the *inventor* of transplanting (and grafting, implicitly), of vital importance in the arboriculture that figures in the latter part of book II. As T. E. Page pointed out²², *ab radice* means «roots and all»; and *teneram* suggests a sapling ready for transplanting. Servius' second explanation was the right one «quidam Silvanum pri-

²¹ See my article 'Virgilius Satiricus', in *Cicero and Virgil* (ed. J.R.C. MARTYN), Amsterdam 1969, p. 169-191.

²² *Op. cit.* (n. 1), *ad loc.*

«mum instituisse plantationes dicunt», not his first, giving the story of Silvanus and Cyparissus, now tenderly carried by his lover, who accidentally caused his death, in the form of the tree into which he had been changed, «pro solacio». The metamorphosis is better left as part of Orpheus' song of pederastic loves, in *Met.* X 106-219. There, in fact, Phoebus is the lover of young Cyparissus (106-142), and elsewhere it is Zephyrus; the link with Silvanus seems to be yet another example of Servius' adoption of a rationalizing tradition; here Silvanus is carrying a tender young Cyparissus — *ergo* he loved him, and somehow caused his death, metamorphosis etc.²³

The final general invocation of the unnamed gods and goddesses, although similar to the 'umbrella' prayer offered by the Roman *pontifices*, has two special functions: first, it gives a summary of the inventions above, with the word commonly applied to prototypes, *novas*. Secondly, it adds a crucial backdrop for all agriculture, rain. Jupiter himself appears as such as he fertilizes mother Earth in book II 325, but in the invocation he would be out-of-place (among inventors), as would *Lympha*. Rather, Virgil completes the agricultural part of his long *prooemium* with a picture of the protecting deities and their 'new' crops, bushes and trees that *need no seeding*,²⁴ and the plentiful rain for *seeded* crops, which neatly rounds off, with a chiasmus, the subject-matter and inventions of the first twenty lines.

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²³ It is misleading to state, as R.D. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), does *ad loc.*: «in mythology Silvanus was the lover of the youth Cyparissus (Servius *ad loc.*): hence the association with the cypress tree». The myth is probably Servius'. At *Aen.* III 680, Servius gives the correct lover, «amatus ab Apollone», before repeating his Silvanus version, probably from a Greek original, as in *F (ibid.)*, where an aetiological explanation is given, with a Cretan Cyparissus loved by Apollo (or Zephyrus), but fleeing to Syria to preserve his virtue, and to his metamorphosis, thus being consecrated to the dead («apud Atticos funestae domus huius fronde velantur»).

²⁴ The gods protect the fields (*arva tueri*; cf. *favens* v. 18) and produce *new* fruits, like corn, grapes, olives, honey, etc.; although 'not with any seed' may also point to the backdrops of woods and grasslands. Just to pick out 'grafting' as an invention here, as G.B. MILES, *op. cit.* (n. 1), does, seems far too specific.